The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15*s*., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1894, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 22, ALBEMARLE STREET.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian and Assistant-Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian, Assistant Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Assistant-Librarian, or in her absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

(1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.

(2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.

(3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

(1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.

(2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.

(3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

(4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.

(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

(6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

(1) Unbound books.

(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.

(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

(4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

The Library Committee.

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SESSION 1898—1899.

General Meetings will be held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., for the reading of Papers and for Discussion, at 5 P.M. on the following days :—

1898.
Thursday, November 3rd.
1899.
Thursday, February 23rd.
Thursday, April 27th.
Thursday, June 29th (Annual).

The Council will meet at 4.30 p.m. on each of the above days.

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LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

American Journal of Archæology (Professor J. M. Paton, *Middleton, Connecticut U.S.A.*)

Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 14, *Rue des Ursulines, Bruxelles.*

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).

Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).

Ephemeris Archaiologike, *Athens.*

Jahrbuch of German Imperial Archaeological Institute, Corneliusstrasse No. 2 II. *Berlin.*

Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes Türkenstrasse, 4, *Vienna.*

Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*

Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).

Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, published by the French School at *Rome.*

Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute at *Athens.*

Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute at *Rome.*

Mnemosyne (*care of* Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland.*

Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street.*

Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (*care of* Dietrich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, Göttingen).

Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society.

Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople.*

Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg.*

Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, *rue d'Ulm*).

Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris.*

Transactions of the American School, *Athens.*

Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society and Journal of Philology

SESSION 1897-98.

THE First General Meeting was held on November 4th, 1897, Mr. Talfourd Ely in the chair.

Prof. E. Gardner read a paper on a vase which he was kindly permitted to publish by the authorities of the Harrow School Museum. It was the gem of the collection presented to that museum by Sir G. Wilkinson; it could be identified from description with a vase of which a tracing existed in the apparatus of the German Institute at Rome, and which was found at Vitorchiano. The main subject of the vase was the combat between Caeneus and the Centaurs: this scene was represented with extraordinary life and vigour. The foreshortening of the body of one of the Centaurs, seen from behind like the horse in the Issus mosaic, was a very bold experiment in drawing; and the faces, especially that of this same Centaur, were marked by a skill in rendering character and expression hardly ever surpassed or even equalled in Greek vase painting. The vase could only belong to the very finest school and period—to the later style of the cycle of Euphronius; in the works of this master and his associates many similar characteristics could be found, and especially in those vases assigned by Dr. Hartwig to Onesimus. Proceeding to discuss the myth, Prof. Gardner pointed out the inconsistencies of the accepted tradition, both with itself and with artistic representations. Accepting Mannhardt's explanation of the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths as derived from the common present belief that the devastation wrought by storms is the result of a conflict between the spirits of the wood, he looked for the origin of the Caeneus story in rites connected with such spirits, and pointed out evidence that the tale of the burial of Caeneus was derived from one of those human sacrifices that so often seem to have been associated with pine trees in Greece [*J.H.S.* vol. xvii. p. 294].—Mr. G. B. Grundy then read a paper on Salamis. He expressed surprise that the main thesis of Prof. Goodwin's paper, published in the *Journal* of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1882–3, had not been accepted in recent histories of Greece. He thought, however, that Prof. Goodwin had failed to show that Herodotus's account is, as it stands, in favour of that scheme of the battle for which Prof. Goodwin argues. Herodotus seems to have had at his disposal information which was in its essential characteristics similar to the first-hand information of Aeschylus and the second-hand information of Diodorus, but to have used it mistakenly. He antedates the first movement of the Persian

fleet to the Strait to the afternoon instead of the night before the battle, describes the movements in the night in terms of the movements in the next day's battle, and has consequently nothing to say of the main movements in the battle itself.

The Second General Meeting was held on February 24th, 1898, Prof. Jebb, President, in the chair.

Mr. R. C. Bosanquet exhibited and described Mr. Clark's drawings of the fine mosaic found in Melos by members of the British School at Athens.—Prof. Ridgeway gave an address on some of the contents of his forthcoming book, 'The Early Age of Greece.' He briefly repeated the results at which he had arrived in his paper 'What People made the Objects called Mycenaean?' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1896) in which he had maintained that these objects were the outcome of a people who had occupied the mainland of Greece and the islands from a very remote period, and who were in full occupation when the Achaeans entered Greece, as described by Homer and the later Greek authors. These earlier inhabitants of Greece were the people called by the Greeks themselves the Pelasgians. He pointed out that so good an archaeologist as M. Salomon Reinach had become a convert to this doctrine. On the other hand, Prof. Percy Gardner, in his 'Sculptured Monuments,' published since the appearance of his (Prof. Ridgeway's) paper, still adhered to the old Achaean theory, though 'with trepidation,' giving as his chief reason that he followed 'the sober judgment' of M. Perrot. Prof. Ridgeway then examined the arguments given by M. Perrot, on which, of course, Prof. Gardner's belief was based. He first pointed out that it was unfair to M. Perrot, who had written in 1894, before the new doctrine had appeared, to pin him to the views which he then held. M. Perrot, desiring to get evidence that the Achaeans had been settled in the Mediterranean from a remote epoch, gives as his proofs of this (1) that the Eteocretes were Achaeans, though it happens that in Homer, *Od.*, xix. 177 *seqq.*, these peoples are explicitly distinguished; (2) that the people called Aquaiousha in an inscription of the fifth year of Merenptah I. are the Achaeans. Prof. Ridgeway pointed out that by the earliest reckoning (Flinders Petrie) this would be about 1200 B.C., and by the latest possible (Torr) about 1025 B.C. Now, as by the traditional Greek chronology the Achaeans had entered Greece about 1250 B.C., there was not the slightest ground for believing that they were in Greece before that time. Finally, he asked if the identity of Achaioi and the Aquaiousha was a bit more certain than that between Ucalegon (*proximus ardet*) and Judy O'Callaghan in the Irish epic known as 'Lanigan's Ball.' He then pointed out that M. Perrot, Prof. P. Gardner, and Dr. Leaf were all believers in the truth of the Greek tradition that the Pelasgians were the older inhabitants of Greece, and then referred to the great discrepancy between the Mycenaean culture, which was that of the Bronze Age, and that of the Homeric poems, which showed that of the Iron Age, and closely resembled that of the Hallstatt period of Central

Europe. He pointed out that in both ancient and modern times the mass of the population of Greece and the Mediterranean sea-board was dark-haired, whilst the Achaeans of Homer are described as 'fair-haired.' He then stated his thesis that in the fair-haired Achaeans of Homer we have the earliest of those waves of fair-haired warriors from Upper Europe who swept down and conquered the black-haired indigenous population of the southern peninsulas, but in a few generations became enervated in the south and were absorbed in the conquered aborigines—such had been the fate of the Normans, Vandals, Visigoths, Gauls, etc. He then proposed to show that the social system, law of inheritance, and religion of the Homeric poems (as well as the armour, etc.) differed materially from those known in classical times in districts which the consensus of history declared to have been always occupied by a Pelasgian population, such as Arcadia, Attica, Crete, and the other islands, whilst, on the other hand, it corresponded to those of the fair-haired peoples of Central Europe. Thus in Homer we have strict monandry and descent through males, as among Teutonic peoples; but in the Pelasgic parts of Greece we have descent through women in ancient Athens, while among the Pelasgians of Thessaly it goes side by side with polyandry. Again, there is no trace of fetish in Homer, but the worship of fetish was notorious in Arcadia, Attica, etc. Totemism was also unknown to Homer; but in Attica and Arcadia, Cyprus and Seriphus, all Pelasgic, Mr. Lang, Mr. Frazer, and Prof. Robertson Smith had found many phenomena resembling those known among totemistic tribes at the present day. He thought that some things in Greece had been called totems which did not stand critical test, but there were several instances which seemed to defy explanation on any other principle. On the other hand, there was no trace of fetish or totem in the Teutonic peoples; hence the Achaeans resembled these peoples in social and religious system. He had only time to touch upon one or two gods. He showed that Poseidon was the god of the older population of Greece, having been driven gradually by Zeus and Apollo from Thessaly, Delphi, Attica, Argolis, and Delos, and that he is represented with dark hair, like the people who worshipped him, whilst Apollo, the new-comer from the land of the Hyperboreans, the way to which lay by the sources of the Danube, was golden-haired, like the fair-haired Achaeans, who, the speaker contended, had come from that region.—Prof. Jebb thanked the speaker in the name of the Society for his brilliant and suggestive address.—In the discussion which followed Prof. W. C. F. Anderson expressed doubt as to the use of arguments based upon pottery and armour in determining ethnical affinities, and questioned also whether those derived from matri-archal or patriarchal systems might not be pushed too far. It was hard to believe that a race so evidently important in early times as the Pelasgians could have entirely disappeared. Complicated systems of clans, etc., always connoted primitive conditions, not high civilization. Simplicity of system came with time.—Prof. Percy Gardner, while not prepared to deal off-hand with all the points raised, thought some of the views expressed

quite reasonable, though there were others which he could not accept. On the Mycenaean question he had not finally committed himself, but he was prepared to accept new light from whatever quarter it came. He could not accept the broad distinction drawn between Homer and the later poets, and hesitated to believe that the brilliance of Attic intellect was due to an inferior race. These questions of race and religion seemed almost bottomless, and even appeals to archaeology might mislead. The description of Homer and Zeus as Achaean, the Attic poets and Poseidon as Pelasgic, was open to grave doubt.—Mr. Arthur Evans thought that the necessity of compression made Prof. Ridgeway's views rather difficult to follow. On the archaeological question, though most people would agree that the Mycenaean was a development of an earlier civilization, the evidence of its continuity was hardly yet as well established on the mainland of Greece as in the islands. The presumption, therefore, was in favour of its centre of gravity being the Aegean rather than Greece proper. As to the supposed descent of the Achaeans from the Danubian regions into Greece, he was inclined to believe that the flow had been in the opposite direction. If these fair-haired people were non-Aryan and barbaric, why did they speak only Greek, and diffuse that dialect from the Peloponnese to Cyprus? More precise information was still needed about the Achaeans, though they clearly represented the dominant element in Greece. Again, it was difficult to separate precisely the cults of Zeus and Poseidon. The latter had a close connexion with the Achaeans in their Italian colonies.—Mr. Farnell spoke of the address as very suggestive, and expressed his cordial agreement with Prof. Ridgeway's main position as to the light thrown by religion on ethnology. Clearly we had to reckon with the existence in Greece of a different and earlier race. If non-Aryan, as the speaker contended, the comparative rarity of totemism in Greece might be used as an argument, for most writers on that subject agreed that it was not found as a rule among any Aryan peoples, and if so found, belonged to an earlier non-Aryan race. But this and similar arguments from the matriarchal system must be used with caution. Thus uncouth forms of marriage and religion occurred in Pelasgic Arcadia, and female worship was undoubtedly found among Aryans. As to Poseidon, Mr. Farnell was open to conviction, but he had himself argued that the worship of Poseidon in Attica was a late introduction. If the Ionians were Pelasgians, then the Pelasgians must themselves have been a Greek stock.—Prof. Ridgeway expressed himself much gratified by the discussion, and said that the objections raised to his theory would for the most part be met in his forthcoming book, where the points ethnological, archaeological, and linguistic were all elaborately discussed.

The Third General Meeting was held on April 28th, 1898, Mr. Talfourd Ely in the chair.

Prof. W. C. F. Anderson read a paper 'On the March of Xerxes,' dealing with the country between the Hebrus and Mount Athos. His

account was based on a journey taken in the autumn of 1896 in company with Mr. J. A. R. Munro. It was illustrated with a number of lantern slides from negatives taken on the spot. The site of Doriscus lies somewhere near the modern town of Dede Agatch, but has not yet been found. The only ruins known in the district are those of Trajanopolis. The importance of the place as a base of supplies is still evident, for the corn of the fertile Hebrus valley and of Eastern Roumelia is shipped there in large quantities. The route of Xerxes from Doriscus is not easy to ascertain. The coast road through Maronia is difficult, and at the present time impassable. The Via Egnatia and the Turkish post road ran north of Mount Ismarus, and this may be taken as the natural main route. Herodotus speaks of Xerxes having adopted a triple line of advance, and if this is accepted his right wing must have marched up the Hebrus valley, the centre following the line of the Via Egnatia, and the left wing going by the coast. Even a twofold division cannot have been long maintained, for unless the mouth of the Buru Ghyul (Lake Bistonis) was bridged, both the centre and left wing must have passed along its northern shore, as the old roads and the new railway road between Gumuldjina and Xanthi do. In this case Abdera lies south of the main route, but not more than a day's journey from it. Further west, after the crossing of the Nestus, there is only one road between the mountains and the sea, the narrow ledge, or *corniche*, which leads to Cavalla (Neapolis). From Cavalla the famous Symbolon Pass is the only way to the fertile plain of Philippi. Two roads lead from the plain of Philippi to the Strymon: the old Turkish post road, which passes Pravi and runs down the narrow Pierian valley, and the Via Egnatia, down the valley of the Anghista. According to Herodotus, Xerxes marched down the Pierian valley, but it is impossible to suppose that, with his large army, he can have neglected the easier marching route. Mining holes, scoriæ, and a prehistoric tower are still to be seen in the Pierian valley, near Mousthenia, which may be the site of Phagres mentioned by Herodotus. The mouth of the Strymon, with its lagoons, has no very ancient ruins to show, though the deserted storehouses at Tchai-aghazi prove that it was an important grain-distributing centre until the present century. It is the next natural base of supplies west of Doriscus, and as such was selected by Xerxes. From the mouth of the Strymon to the pass of Aulon the road runs along the shore at the foot of the Bisaltic mountains, no alternative route to Chalcidice being possible. It is, however, difficult to determine how Xerxes marched thence to Athos. The direct road south crosses the difficult range of Mount Stravenico. It is a mountain track, so little used that it cannot be found without a guide, and so steep that it can only be followed on foot. The natural route is south-west inland to Larigova and thence to Poligyro; but as the site of Stagirus is still undiscovered, it is impossible to say if this is the route Herodotus refers to. Brasidas advanced by the inland route when marching on Amphipolis. The site of Acanthus is marked by the old town walls, built of huge, well-cut blocks, which are plainly visible in the citadel rock and at many places

throughout the modern town of Hierisso. The canal is only a little over two hours distant, but owing to the suspicion of the military commander at Hierisso, the visit paid was short. The line of the canal is best seen from the hills on the south side of the isthmus, where a small stream has kept it from being as completely silted up as it is on the north side. It enters the sea on the south between two hills through what seems to be an artificial cutting. Near these hills are some blocks of a cyclopean wall, which, however, the monks are using as a quarry for building a monastery farm. These blocks perhaps mark the site of Sane.

The Annual Meeting was held on June 30, 1898, Prof. Jebb, President, in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary (Mr. George Macmillan) read the following Report on behalf of the Council.

The progress of the Society during the session just ended has been quite satisfactory. Two numbers of the Journal have been published as usual, and the meetings have been well attended and have led in most cases to good debates. This was notably so with Professor Ridgeway's address on the origin of the Achaeans on February 24th. At the following meeting on April 28th the magic lantern was introduced for the first time, and proved an attractive accompaniment of Professor W. C. F. Anderson's account of a journey along the route followed by the army of Xerxes.

The index to Volumes IX.—XVI. of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and to the Supplementary Papers, promised in last year's Report, is now nearly ready for issue.

In the course of the year it was found necessary to make some change in the editorial management of the Journal. Dr. Walter Leaf, who has for some years past been an active member of the Editorial Committee, desired to be relieved of his office owing to the pressure of other work, and Mr. Arthur Smith also, upon whom has fallen for many years the chief burden of preparing the illustrations, which form such an important feature in the Journal, intimated that he could no longer devote the time necessary to the work. The Council were fortunate enough to induce Mr. F. G. Kenyon to take Dr. Leaf's place on the Editorial Board, while Mr. G. F. Hill, of the Coins Department in the British Museum, consented, in consideration of a small honorarium, to take over the heaviest part of the editorial work, including the management of the illustrations. Mr. Arthur Smith kindly agreed to remain on the Committee for another year to assist the new Editors with his advice, so as to secure a continuity of administration. As a return for his great services both as an Editor of the Journal and as Hon. Librarian the Council elected Mr. Smith an Honorary Life Member of the Society, and the same distinction was conferred, *honoris causa*, upon Dr. Walter Leaf and Professor Percy Gardner, whose labours on behalf of the Journal have been so devoted and so invaluable.

The Council feel sure that this recognition of services ungrudgingly rendered to the Society will meet with the hearty approval of all its Members.

The development of the Library during the past year has been particularly satisfactory, and it is believed that, owing to recent accessions, it now holds in its own class the first place among libraries from which books can be freely borrowed. A complete list of accessions was printed as usual in the last volume of the Journal, but it may be well to mention here the most important items.

In November last the Trustees of the British Museum presented about fifty volumes of their publications, including the Catalogues of Greek Coins, the Description of the Ancient Marbles, Facsimiles of Greek Papyri, &c. The Society has also acquired by purchase or exchange the following among other important works: Mr. J. G. Frazer's translation with commentary of Pausanias: the *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889–91; Omont's *Athènes au xvii^e Siècle*; Jannaris's *Historical Greek Grammar*, and the two volumes of the Dilettanti Society's *Specimens of Antient Sculpture*.

In April of the present year Miss Harrison generously placed a selection of more than 200 volumes from her own library on deposit with the Society. These include the earlier volumes of the *Annali*, *Bullettino*, and *Monumenti Inediti* of the German Archaeological Institute; also of the St. Petersburg *Comptes Rendus* and of the *Archaeologische Zeitung*, together with a large number of valuable monographs on vases, &c. It is hoped that this collection will ultimately be incorporated with the Library of the Society. At present the books are catalogued in the general catalogue, but cannot be taken away from the Library.

The numbers of readers and borrowers of books show a steady increase, about 150 visits having been paid to the Library during the Session. The lantern slides continue to be in request, and a new slide catalogue with considerable additions has been issued in the last number of the Journal. Thanks are due to Miss Harrison and to Mr. Barclay Squire for donations of slides, and to Messrs. Herbert Awdry and Flinders Petrie for permission to use special series of slides.

The Council have now under consideration a systematic scheme for extending the collection both of photographs and of lantern slides, and of making it more available. Further particulars will be announced in due course, but in the meantime members who are prepared to contribute either photographs or lantern slides are invited to communicate with Mr. J. L. Myres (at Christ Church, Oxford), who has the matter in hand.

In the year now ended, the Council have placed the finances of the Library on a definite footing by assigning to the Library Committee a sum of £75 for the expenses of the Library, apart from salaries and rent. If it is found that the arrangement can be continued, the progress of the Library will be more uniform and steady than it has been in the past.

It will be a satisfaction to members to learn that the British School at Athens, under its new director Mr. D. G. Hogarth, has had another successful season, and in particular has pursued with most encouraging results the important excavations in the island of Melos which were begun in 1896 under the direction of Mr. Cecil Smith. Some of the fruits of this excavation have already found their way into the Society's Journal and abundant material has accumulated for further papers. Meanwhile some preliminary accounts of this as of other work done by the School have appeared, or will shortly appear, in the School Annual.

Beyond the annual grants to the School at Athens the Society has not during the past season been called upon to contribute to work outside its own borders, except for a grant of £25 made to Mr. W. R. Paton for purposes of exploration in Asia Minor. The Society, however, successfully approached the Foreign Office in order to secure for two of its members, Mr. J. G. C. Anderson and Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, facilities for travel in Asia Minor. The thanks of the Society are due to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the readiness with which he listened to the appeal for his good offices in this matter.

The Treasurer's Accounts show the financial position of the Society to be satisfactory. Ordinary receipts during the year were £789 against £816 during the financial year 1896-97. The receipts from Subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £626, against £636, and receipts from Libraries and for the purchase of back volumes £118, against £126. The receipts for loan of Lantern Slides amount to £4 15*s*., against £5, but other items of ordinary income show no change.

The ordinary expenditure for the year amounts to £823, against £616. Payments for Rent £80, Insurance £15, Salaries £50, and Stationery, &c. £45, are practically the same as in the preceding year; the cost of purchases for the Library shows £93 against £94. The cost of the Journal, Vol. XVII., Parts 1 and 2, has amounted to £510, against £346. The usual grant of £100 was made to the British School at Athens, and £25 to Mr. W. R. Paton as previously mentioned. The balance carried forward at the close of the year under review amounted to £201, against £360 at the end of the previous financial year.

Since the entrance fee was imposed in January, 1894, about £120 have been received from this source, a very substantial addition to the Society's income.

Thirty-one new members have been elected during the year, while thirty-eight have been lost by death or resignation. This shows a net decrease of 7, and brings the total number of members to 771, including 21 hon. members.

One new Library has joined the list of Subscribers, which now amounts to 134; or with the five Public Libraries to 139.

The Council have recently added to the list of Honorary Members Professor Conze, of Berlin, Professor Benndorf, of Vienna, and Monsieur l'Abbé Duchesne, the Director of the French School in Rome.

Among the members who have died in the course of the year special mention is due to the Rev. William Wayte, who had for many years been an active member of Council, and had also served the office of Hon. Librarian.

The Council can only in conclusion congratulate members upon the continued prosperity of the Society, while reminding them once more of the importance of bringing in fresh recruits, not only to make up for the inevitable losses by death or resignation, but if possible steadily to increase the number of members, and so also the power of the Society to carry out efficiently the objects for which it was founded. This reminder is the more necessary this year as there has actually been a slight falling off in the number of members.

The adoption of the Report was moved by Sir John Evans, seconded by the Rev. B. Jackson, and carried unanimously.

The former President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, Mr. Arthur Evans being added to the latter. Mr. G. E. Marindin, Prof. A. B. Cook, and Mr. R. Carr Bosanquet were elected to vacancies on the Council.

M. Salomon Reinach communicated a new theory concerning the date, denomination, and restoration of the Melian Aphrodite. A document published in 1892 proved that the famous statue was discovered together with a dedicatory inscription bearing the name of Theodoridas, son of Daistratos. The same Theodoridas appeared to have dedicated the colossal statue of Poseidon discovered in Melos in 1877, and now in Athens. Epigraphical evidence showed that Theodoridas lived about 370 B.C. M. Reinach also argued from a passage in Philochoros (300 B.C.), who mentions two colossal statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite in the island of Tenos. His conclusions were as follows:—(1) The so-called Melian Aphrodite was an Amphitrite. (2) The statue now in the Louvre was coupled with the Poseidon now at Athens in a sanctuary erected by Theodoridas about 370 B.C. (3) The Aphrodite must be restored after the model of the Poseidon, with a sceptre or trident in the left hand raised, and grasping at the falling drapery with her right hand. (4) The hand holding an apple in the Louvre, and the inscription bearing the name of Agesandros, now lost, have nothing to do with the statue, in spite of Dr. Furtwängler's contention to the contrary. (5) The Amphitrite and Poseidon—works of the same atelier, but probably not of the same chisel—both belonged to the Attic School immediately following the epoch of Phidias. On the invitation of the President, who thanked M. Reinach for his eloquent and persuasive address, the speaker promised to write a paper on the subject for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Mr. Penrose gave some account of a recent visit to Athens.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH OF THE HELLENIC SOCIETY.

Session 1897–8.

On Saturday, February 19th, 1898, a meeting was held at Dr. Verrall's house.

Two papers were communicated to the Society—one by Dr. Verrall entitled 'Herodotus on the Measurement of the Pyramids' (since printed in the *Classical Review*, xii. 195 ff.), the other by Mr. A. B. Cook 'On some archaeological points in Aeschylus's *Eumenides*.' Among the passages discussed in the latter were the following. (1) Aesch. *Eum.* 166–172. Here the Chorus of Furies angered against Apollo who has taken their victim under his protection exclaim: 'Yonder is earth's centre-stone with the grim pollution of blood upon it. Seer as thou art, thou hast defiled thine inmost shrine with a stain upon its hearth, sped by thyself and summoned by none other: for, sinning against the law of gods, thou givest honour to men and hast destroyed the ancient *Fates*.' We expect 'the ancient *Furies*,' not 'the ancient Fates' (παλαιγενεῖς Μοίρας),—'thou givest honour to Orestes and takest it from us the Furies.' Either then we must explain why Aeschylus when he meant Furies said Fates, or we must show that a reference to the Fates is not inappropriate. Those who regard Μοίρας as a substitution for Ἐρινῦς can appeal to several passages in which the Furies are closely associated with the Fates: *e.g.* *P.V.* 515 f. where the question 'Who then guides the helm of Necessity?' is met by the answer Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι μνήμονές τ' Ἐρινύες. Indeed Rapp in Roscher *Lex.* I. i. 1327 f. collects a good deal of evidence to prove that the Furies dispensed good and evil to men: ''tis their allotted task,' says Aeschylus in *Eum.* 930, 'to order all mortal matters.' Nevertheless the passages adduced do not warrant the assertion that Μοῖραι could be used as an alternative name for Ἐρινῦς. The Furies, it is true, are called Κῆρες Ἐρινύες in *Sept.* 1055; but the Κῆρες there mentioned are not necessarily, not even probably, to be identified with the Μοῖραι. Moreover, in the *Eum.* Aeschylus is at pains more than once to distinguish between the Furies and the Fates: in 961 the Furies address the Fates as their 'sisters' (ματροκασιγνῆται), and in 724 a similar discrimination is implied. Can we then show that an allusion to the Fates as distinct from the Furies is not out of place? Several editors hold that the phrase 'thou hast destroyed the

ancient Fates' means 'thou hast ere now allowed the Fates to be robbed by the rescue of Alcestis from death,' and they point out that this exploit is alluded to later on in the play (723 f.). But would Aeschylus have left us to puzzle over the conundrum for more than 500 lines without hinting at the answer? Now it will be noticed that the whole passage abounds with topographical allusions to the temple at Delphi: the omphalos, the sacred ἑστία mentioned also by Plutarch and Pausanias, the μυχός or 'adytum,' all show that the Furies' argument is—'You, Apollo, by befriending a murderer are bringing defilement upon your own house and its contents.' May we not then believe that, when Aeschylus speaks of 'the ancient Fates' in such a context, he means *the statues of the Fates which stood in the cella of the temple at Delphi*? Paus. x. 24, 4 says 'There stand, moreover, statues (ἀγάλματα) of two Fates, and in place of the third Zeus Moiragetes and Apollo Moiragetes are at their side.' Why '*two* Fates,' not three? Weizsäcker (Rosch. *Lex.* II. ii. 3091) suggests that the one presided over Birth, the other over Death: or possibly the one dispensed good luck, the other bad. At any rate Plutarch *de εἰ Delphico* 2 quotes the number as a theological ἀπορία, and from the absence of ancient tradition we may perhaps infer that the statues belonged to the remote and half-forgotten past; they were what Aeschylus calls them, παλαιγενεῖς Μοῖραι. (2) Aesch. *Eum.* 996 ff. The Chorus, now appeased, bid farewell to the Athenians and the Athenian gods. Their final benediction is a double one, pronounced first upon the ἀστικὸς λεὼς (997) and then upon πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν, δαίμονές τε καὶ βροτοί, | Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες (1015 ff.), so that a contrast between ἄστυ and πόλις is possibly intended. However that may be, the description of the Athenian people given in the first benediction runs: 'All hail, ye townsfolk, seated near to Zeus, loved by the Parthenos ye love; for the lesson of wisdom ye have learnt at last. Yea, 'neath the covert of Pallas' wings ye win the reverence of the Father himself.' A recent edition of the play comments: '"Seated near to Zeus"; fine and simple metaphor for the righteous people specially under divine protection.' This interpretation, though sanctioned by Hermann, hardly commends itself. When Aeschylus described his audience as ἵκταρ ἥμενοι Διός, would they not first think of the Acropolis just behind them where Zeus Policus had his statue, his altar, and his peculiar cult? Again, Παρθένου φίλας φίλοι. Athena was worshipped on the Acropolis as Parthenos long before Pheidias' master-piece was erected. A marble basis found there, recording a dedication Παρθένῳ...Ἀθηναίῃ, bears the signature of Kritios and Nesiotes (*C.I.A.* i. 374 = Roberts i. 91 no. 67) and allows us to suppose that as early as 460 B.C. or earlier (cp. Hom. *hymn.* xxviii. 1–3) this title was established. The *Eum.* was produced in 458 B.C., so that, if we find in the word Παρθένου a reference to the local cult, we are not guilty of anachronism. Lastly, Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς. Is this a mere metaphor, or was there at the time a winged Pallas on the Akropolis? The type is rare, but not altogether unknown. Farnell, *Cults of the Gr. States*, i. 341 f. cites the

available evidence, and from the occurrence of a winged Athena on the Cnidian Treasury at Delphi (*Bull. de corr. hell.* xviii. 190) infers that it was already known in the archaic period. Aristoph. *Av.* 574—*pace* Paley—throws no light on the subject, the reference there (as in *C.I.G.* i. 150, 23, Schol. Dem. *Timocr.* 121) being to the golden Nike on the hand of Pheidias's Athena in the Hecatompedon, a statue constructed in 447–438 B.C., more than ten years after the appearance of the *Eumenides*. A similar slip is made by Mr. A. Sidgwick who understands *βρέτας* | *τοὐμόν* in *Eum.* 1024 f. of the chryselephantine Parthenos. (3) Aesch. *Eum.* 1028. The 'cloaks of crimson dye,' worn during the solemn procession which was to escort the Furies, are to be explained by the prophylactic significance of the colour red. Among the inhabitants of the Gold Coast, who commonly wear white garments, red is reserved for mourning purposes (Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 88, 89, 93, 156). In modern Germany the new-born infant has a band of red stuff attached to his arm to preserve him from witchcraft, and the cart-horse is protected against the evil eye by scraps of red material (Fritzsche on Theocr. ii. 2). Neapolitan charms are still made of red coral 'for luck.' Analogous customs prevailed on classical soil in ancient days, Verg. *Aen.* iii. 405 ff. suggests a prophylactic virtue in the colour: 'purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu, | ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum | hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.' In the *Geoponica*, xv. 8, it is stated that bees, fields, houses, etc. can be secured against witchcraft by burying under the threshold various articles, including salt, cummin, squills, *στέμμα ἐρίου λευκοῦ ἢ φοινικοῦ*, agnus castus, sacred herbs, brimstone, etc. Funeral *stelai* on Attic *lekuthoi* are often decorated with red fillets, perhaps for the same reason. Pollux, iv. 119 f. says that on the comic stage the conventional garb for the young was *φοινικὶς ἢ μελαμπόρφυρον ἱμάτιον*, while certain classes of society wore 'a band of purple' (*ταινίδιόν τι πορφυροῦν*) round the head. He tells us, *ib.* 116, that warriors or hunters on the stage wore round their hands a knot or coil of the same colour (*συστρεμμάτιόν τι πορφυροῦν ἢ φοινικοῦν*). In Theocr. ii. 2, Simaitha, preparing her magic rites, bids Thestylis wreathe the jar with scarlet wool. The Palatine Anthology (v. 204) describes an *ἴυγξ* similarly bound *πορφυρέης ἀμνοῦ μαλακῇ τριχί*. Clement of Alexandria (*strom.* vii. 4, p. 843, Pott.) mentions among objects of superstitious veneration *ἔρια πυρρά* in company with such prophylactics as salt, squills, brimstone and the like. The Greek magical papyri lay the same stress on the colour red. In pap. Parisinus, 2702 ff. a charm written on silver leaf is to be worn round the neck by means of *φοινικίνῳ δέρματι*. In pap. P. 69 ff. a wreath is to be entwined with a fillet of white wool *ἐκ διαστημάτων δεδεμένον φοινικῷ ἐρίῳ*. In pap. A. 400 ff. a charm is to be fastened *ἄμματι φοινικίνῳ*. The red cloaks of Homeric heroes (*Il.* x. 133, *Od.* xiv. 500) and Spartan hoplites, the ruddle-cord of the Athenian assembly, the 'toga praetexta' of the Romans and their imperial purple, are all susceptible of the same explanation. Red or purple is in every case a prophylactic colour. Indeed it is possible that the reason in the background of all these customs is that red, being the colour of blood,

was accepted as a conventional substitute for blood and was therefore taboo: see F. B. Jevons, *Introd. Hist. Rel.* pp. 67, 138, 140, 349.

On Wednesday, March 9th, 1898, the Antiquarian, Hellenic, and Philological Societies held a joint meeting, at which Monsieur P. F. Perdrizet delivered a lecture in French on the excavations at Delphi. The lecture was illustrated by a series of photographic slides; and many minor points, such as Monsieur Perdrizet's identification of Dionysus Bassareus on the Cnidian frieze, were followed with interest and appreciation.

"THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MAY, 1898.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Sales of Journal, July 1, 1896, to June 30, 1897 ...	66	17	2	By Vol. XVII. Parts I. and II. Printing (including carriage)	307	18	6
,, Balance, to Cash Account	515	13	3	,, ,, Plates	129	16	4
				,, ,, Drawing and Engraving	62	6	10
				,, ,, Paper	61	8	9
				,, ,, Index, Vols. IX. to XVI.	21	0	0
	£582	10	5		£582	10	5

CASH ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at 31st May, 1897.....				359	19	7	By Rent, one year to Dec. 1897				80	0	0
,, Members' Subscriptions, 1897—1898...	613	4	6				,, Insurance				15	0	0
,, ,, Arrears.....	12	12	0				,, Salaries, Asst. Librarian, one year to 31st May, 1898.....	30	0	0			
				625	16	6	,, ,, Asst. Secretary, one year to 31st May, 1898.....	20	0	0			
,, Library Subscriptions, 1897—1898 ...				117	12	0					50	0	0
,, Dividends on New South Wales 3½ per cent. Stock—Oct. 1, 1897.....	19	3	8				,, Library Account—Books and Furniture				93	1	3
April 1, 1898	19	3	8				,, Lantern Slides Account.....				24	2	5
,, ,, Corporation of Nottingham 3 per cent.—Nov. 1, 1897.....	2	6	3				,, Stationery, Postage, and Sundry Printing				44	4	10
May 1, 1898	2	6	3				,, Commission, per Bank.....				10	0	
				42	19	10	,, Grants—						
,, Royalties on Photographs				2	10	0	The British School at Athens	100	0	0			
							W. R. Paton	25	0	0			
											125	0	0
							,, Balance of Journal Account				515	13	3
							,, Balance at Bankers				201	6	2
				£1,148	17	11					£1,148	17	11
To Balance at Bankers, 31st May, 1898				£201	6	2							

We have examined this account, compared it with the vouchers and bankers' book, and find it correct.
DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, *Hon. Treasurer.*

25th June, 1898.

ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER,
STEPHEN SPRING-RICE,
Auditors.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.	31 May, 1893.	31 May, 1894.	31 May, 1895.	31 May, 1896.	31 May, 1897.	31 May, 1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Subscriptions	545	532	585	554	564	671	678	645	617	613
Arrears	32	26	39	16	13	44	14	9	4	13
Life Compositions	47	47	79	126	95	79	50	63	15	...
Libraries and Back Vols.	122	96	118	233	161	186	122	117	126	118
Dividends	33	34	35	37	39	43	43	43	43	43
Special Receipts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laurentian MS.	31	11	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mr. D. G. Hogarth (Alexandria Grant Refunded)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	...	...
Loan of Lantern Slides	...	...	...	4	4	4	2	7	5	...
Cliches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
Royalty on Sales of Photographs	...	...	5	5	2	2	1	1	...	2
Loan from Bankers	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Donations—J. Vansittart, Esq.	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E. H. Egerton, Esq.	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...
Library, Mrs. Cohen	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
W. Arkwright, Esq.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
	910	846	898	976	878	1,034	910	915	816	789
Balance from preceding year	255	42	151	255	239	259	214	169	340	360
	1,165	888	1,049	1,231	1,117	1,293	1,124	1,084	1,156	1,149

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.	31 May, 1893.	31 May, 1894.	31 May, 1895.	31 May, 1896.	31 May, 1897.	31 May, 1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rent	30	30	30	35	50	73	80	80	80	80
Insurance	5	13	11	11	11	11	15	15	15	15
Salaries	39	39	39	44	49	49	49	47	52	50
Library	15	2	16	8	41	75	96	39	94	93
Lantern Slides Account	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24
Stationery, Printing, and Postage	61	55	62	41	71	49	49	46	29	45
Cost of Journal (less sales)	*873	397	440	610	532	475	441	394	346	516
Grants	100	100	150	125	100	185	225	100	180	125
Investments	...	...	46	100	...	158	...	...	...	...
Egypt Exploration Fund—1,100 copies of Mr. Hogarth's Report	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	...	...
Loan Repaid	...	101	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Photo Enlargements, Albums, Lantern Slides, &c.	...	...	...	18	4	4	...	...	...	...
Sundries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1,123	737	794	992	858	1,079	955	744	796	948
Balance	42	151	255	239	259	214	169	340	360	201
	1,165	888	1,049	1,231	1,117	1,293	1,124	1,084	1,156	1,149

* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (= £437) less the amount received from sales.

LIST OF

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

JAN. 1—DEC. 1, 1898.

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DEATH AND THE HORSE.

(κλυτόπωλος, κλυτός, ἔλιξ etc.)

Did the Greeks, and in particular did the Homeric poets, associate Death with the Horse? The great importance, in the archaeology of art and religion, of all associations connected with the grave, will perhaps give interest to a somewhat full discussion of this question, or rather of the single piece of evidence, upon which, so far as concerns Homer, the question seems to turn. Did the poets describe Hades, lord of Death, as 'lord of the goodly steeds'? Is this what they meant by κλυτόπωλος? It is the purpose of this paper to show that they did not, that this interpretation is involved in difficulties and impossibilities three-fold and four-fold, has for it neither reason nor authority, and must, with all that depends upon it, be given up.

The first and perhaps sufficient objection is this. Before the epithet κλυτόπωλος could be referred to the horse, πῶλος, it is plain, must have signified *a horse*. Now it is quite certain, though apparently not recognized, that to the composers of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* no such word as πῶλος *horse* was known. They used, it is true, the word to which, by a stretch of meaning and for convenience, that sense was given by their imitators and successors; but they knew it only and strictly in what seems to have been its primitive and etymological sense, *a foal*, a young horse *under the mother*. 'Chestnut horses (ἵππους) hundred and fifty, all mares and many with their foals (πῶλοι) at their feet' says Nestor in Λ 681: and see also Υ 222, 225. Against πῶλος *horse* the evidence is overwhelming. If these poets had known at all a word so irresistibly convenient as a synonym for ἵππος beginning with a consonant, they must have used it, in the extant poems, not once but scores of times. This estimate is no mere conjecture; it is proved by experiment. The composers of the *Hymns*, imitators of 'Homer', but differing much in language and feeling, did, like the Attic poets, know πῶλος (*young horse*) in a sense nearly equivalent to ἵππος, and accordingly with them horses are πῶλοι twice, (those of Ares in 8, 7, and those of Selené in 30, 9), that is to say about once for ten times that the animal is mentioned. Now at this rate the *Iliad* alone should have given us πῶλος *horse* about forty times or more;[1] yet it

[1] Ἵππος is found there about 400 times; see Ebeling's *Lexicon s.v.* My references and statistics are largely taken from this book, though I may mention perhaps that I have read both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* through with this subject in mind.

does not once. Nor does the *Odyssey*. We read, it is true, in ψ 246 how Athena 'detained at Oceanus the golden-throned Morn, and would not let her yoke the swift-foot steeds that bring light to men, Lampos and Phaethon, the πῶλοι that draw Morn.'

Ἠῶ δ' αὖτε
ῥύσατ' ἐπ' Ὠκεάνῳ χρυσόθρονον, οὐδ' ἔα ἵππους
ζεύγνυσθ' ὠκύποδας, φάος ἀνθρώποισι φέροντας,
[Λάμπον καὶ Φαέθονθ', οἵτ' Ἠῶ πῶλοι ἄγουσι].

If we suppose this last verse to be of the true 'Homeric' age, we must translate it according to the use of that age, and must take the poet to mean, what is perhaps not inconceivable or unnatural, that the car of the young Morning is drawn by a team of *foals*. But it is an obvious and more probable supposition, that the verse is a mere note, satisfying that passion for names, to which poet-scholars were liable but bards were not, and that the author of the verse, using πῶλοι as synonymous with ἵπποι, simply betrays thereby his later date. To invent for this single passage a sense of πῶλος, which *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combine to reject and disprove, is not permissible; and it remains therefore true that by the composers of these poems πῶλος *horse* was not used, which in the circumstances is equivalent to 'not known'.

If therefore in κλυτόπωλος, as used in the *Iliad*, πῶλος meant *horse*, it is a case of survival. We should have to assume that πῶλος had once borne this meaning, as it did again in later poetry, and that in the compound, as a traditional epithet, this sense held its ground, although the corresponding sense of the simple had suffered in the age of 'Homer' an odd eclipse. Let us see whether the application of the compound admits this supposition.

That application is extremely peculiar. It is restricted not merely to Hades, but to Hades in one single phase and function, as receiver of the warrior's parting soul:—

'And for thee I say that slaughter and black Death shall come about here at my hands; vanquished by my spear thou shalt yield to me my glory and thy life to Hades *klytopōlos*'

εὖχος ἐμοὶ δώσειν, ψυχὴν δ' Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλῳ.[1]

Now when the poets so used κλυτόπωλος, surviving, *ex hypothesi*, from a time when it meant *of the goodly steeds*, of what sense in it, if any, were they conscious? Or could they use it traditionally, without any question of the sense? Surely not. They may have so used, and probably did, διάκτορος ἀργειφόντης, as a description of Hermes. But then these words, or rather names, were free, for them, from any connexion of etymology. They do not, on the face of them, signify anything in the Greek of Homer; they are not in appearance formed from any elements to which separately Homer gives a sense. But κλυτόπωλος is. Of one meaning in Homeric language it was manifestly capable; it could mean 'of the famous *foals*'. How then, unless the elements of the word were

[1] Ε 654, and similarly Λ 445, Π 625.

capable of some other meaning, should this meaning be ignored; or how could the compound continue to be used in a connexion where, in its natural meaning, it was plainly absurd? The epithet χρυσηλάκατος, 'of the golden *arrow*', was retained, in its traditional connexion with Artemis, by the Homeric poets, although to them, by a restriction in the sense of ἠλακάτη, it had come to signify 'of the golden distaff' (δ 122, 131); because the new sense was in this connexion, though less appropriate, at least not impossible. And similar was the history of Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος, transformed from the *hurler* of the thunder into the *delighter* in it. But when πῶλος *horse* had 'come to mean' *foal*, and *foal* only, then Ἀΐδης κλυτόπωλος, as an expression significant but now absurd, would naturally die. That it did not die is *prima facie* proof that it was not connected, and was not supposed to be, with the πῶλος which for Homer meant *foal*; and that in attributing to this πῶλος, by pure hypothesis, a use earlier than Homer, but for Homer extinct, in the sense of *horse*, we are on a wrong track.

Now in these circumstances it is instructive, and it should not be surprising, to find that, although to the Greeks of the classic and later times no other word πῶλος was known, as a term in use, except that which primarily meant *foal* and subsequently also *horse*, nevertheless among students of Homer the best tradition affirmed that the termination of κλυτόπωλος (Ἀΐδης) had an origin and meaning totally different. Aristarchus, according to several witnesses,[1] connected it with πωλεῖσθαι, *to range, haunt, visit*. The explanations of the epithet, which the witnesses deduce from this etymology, are certainly incredible, indeed preposterous. But this only goes to prove that the etymology itself, which they could not use, was not invented by them (nor by Aristarchus, if he is responsible for the explanations), but was a genuine inheritance from times when the language of the rhapsodists was not yet dead. And whether this was so or not, the etymology, as an etymology, is possible, correct, and Homeric. The verb πωλέομαι is Homeric, and to πωλέομαι the adjectival termination -πωλος stands in the same relation as -πολος (in διόπολος, τρίπολος, δικάσπολος, ἀμφίπολος) to the parallel, cognate, and synonymous πολέομαι. Before therefore, in order to interpret κλυτόπωλος, we assume a sense of -πωλος which Homer does not warrant, we are bound to try whether, with or without the assistance of Aristarchus, we can interpret it by the sense which he does.

The truth appears to be, that the little group of Homeric adjectives in -πωλος (for κλυτόπωλος is not unique) are all connected not with πῶλος *foal*, and certainly not with πῶλος *horse*, to Homer a *vox nihili*, but with the root πωλ- *range*, which appears in πωλέομαι. The position in Homer of the nominal stem from this root, πωλο-, is exactly parallel to that of πολο-; that is to say, neither appears in Homer as an independent substantive, though πόλος had elsewhere in Greek a long and illustrious descent; and both appear in Homer as terminations in a group of compound adjectives. The particular use of πωλέομαι, from which the most familiar of these adjectives originally came, is that which, as was indicated (according to the witnesses) by

[1] See note on p. 4.

Aristarchus[1], survives in the compound *ἐπιπωλέομαι*, when connected with activity on the battle-field :—

αὖταρ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν 'then went he elsewhere ranging the warrior-ranks' (Λ 265). It refers to that rapid and incessant motion from place to place, which, in the loose, desultory, and undisciplined method of Homeric fighting, made so large a part of the fighter's power and efficiency. When all depended, as it does in Homer, on catching your man in the instant of isolation or exposure, to be *quick of movement, nimble in range* was among the first of warlike qualities; and this is the quality which is claimed for the Phrygians (in general), when they are called *αἰολόπωλοι* (Γ 185, etc.), and for the Danaoi (in general), and the Myrmidons (in general), when they are called *ταχύπωλοι*. Even if it were legitimate and Homeric (which, let us repeat once more, it is not), to assume for these adjectives the element *πῶλος horse*, that assumption would still be excluded by the use of them. The men of Agamemnon and Achilles, as a class or people, could not possibly be known or noted for their *swift horses*; for with few exceptions they had no horses at all. But as fighters they are noted for their *quick range*, their nimble movements in the field.

From the same stem probably came *εὔπωλος*, the traditional epithet of *Ilios*, though here a doubt arises, which for *ταχύπωλος* and *αἰολόπωλος* is not entertainable. It is possible to derive *εὔπωλος* from *πῶλος foal*, and to connect it with the famous legend of the *twelve foals*, begotten by Boreas upon the mares of Erichthonios, son of Dardanos (Υ 220 foll.); and this we may even take to be so far true, as that the epithet, so interpreted, gave a likely suggestion for the legend. But that the legend produced the epithet is not likely, for then it would naturally have linked itself in poetic tradition with *Dardania*, which was the name of the place where the foals were born, and not with *Ilios*, which (according to the legend itself, Υ 216) did not then exist, but was built, according to the prevalent account, long after, for Laomedon son of Ilos. As a fact the city, which is *εὔπωλος*, is scarcely ever *Dardania*, and regularly *Ilios*; nor is the legend required to account for the phrase *Ἴλιος εὔπωλος*, which meant originally just 'Ilios, the pleasant haunt', from *πωλο-*, *πωλέομαι*, as *οἰόπολος χῶρος* 'a solitary haunt', and signified, like *εὖ ναιόμενος* etc., that the place was 'good to visit' and 'good to frequent', in short, a country agreeable for human habitation. And indeed the tradition of ancient scholarship preserved an obscure memory of this, when *εὔπωλος* (see Ebeling, *s.v.*) was translated, not incorrectly, by *εὐγέως* 'a pleasant land', and the like.

Apart from proper names, such as *Ἐχέπωλος*, which may mean anything or nothing, these are, I think, all the words in *-πωλος*, which Homer supplies, except *κλυτόπωλος* itself. This, if it was really known and used by the poet or poets of the *Iliad*—we shall see presently the reason for the doubt—cannot be separated from *αἰολόπωλος* and *ταχύπωλος*. Hades, as *κλυτόπωλος*, must

[1] See Ebeling *s.v.* *κλυτόπωλος*.—*ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ κλυτοπώλῳ· ἀκούει κλυτὴν ἐπιπόλησιν κ.τ.λ.*

be 'Death, the famous *ranger* (of the battle-field)': and since, in fact, it is always the soul of the warrior slain upon the field, which this Hades receives, the conception is one which we may well accept as, at any rate, a stage in the history of the phrase. Compared with the irrelevant and impossible *horses*, it is no less superior on the poetic side than on the linguistic. But it seems that we ought to look yet further.

For *firstly*, although from αἰολόπωλος and ταχύπωλος it is not hard so to interpret κλυτόπωλος, it was not perhaps equally natural and obvious upon these lines to invent it. Both αἰολο- and ταχυ- are terms of motion, like πωλο- itself. Not so κλυτο-, and the coalition is thus less easy. Nor have we a perfectly satisfactory analogy in εὔπωλος or οἰόπολος, which, strictly speaking, would justify only the rendering 'Death, famous for his haunt', famous, that is, for the place which he *ranges* or *visits*, an idea neither so clear as might be wished, nor so much to the purpose. *Secondly*, how does it come about, that this 'famous ranger' of the field is never so described when the breadth and rapidity of his range would be illustrated by the circumstances, never in scenes of wide, swift massacre, such as are so often presented, but only at the side of the single fallen man, over whom his enemy stands exulting? A 'fixed epithet' may be often misapplied, but it should scarcely be so always. These objections do nothing to help in the 'horses', to which the second applies even more strongly than to the 'range'; indeed it is impossible, as I think, to explain why, if κλυτόπωλος had really referred to horses, it should never be linked by Homer to any of the numerous personages who are with him 'famous for horses', and only to Hades, who, so far as appears, was not. But the objections justify a suspicion that we are not yet at the bottom of the matter; and since the capacities of πωλο- seem to be exhausted, it remains to see, whether anything more can be made of κλυτο-, an examination which, as few Homeric words are more characteristic and important than κλυτός, will be interesting for its own sake.

In general the Epic use of κλυτός is simple and well defined.

(1) It is applied, according to the etymology, to persons, places, and the like, which are properly and literally 'heard of', *famous, renowned*. So Agamemnon, Argos, etc., etc. Even in this class however it appears, upon a more careful inspection, that some selective feeling, not apparent in the etymology, has affected the choice of objects. Not all renowned persons are in fact κλυτοί, nor those chiefly, or indeed at all, who are most plainly renowned; females, for example, hardly ever, neither goddesses nor women, not Penelope, not Helen, though more 'famous', one would think, than all the male sex together; of the gods some only, and those repeatedly, but chosen, if 'fame' were the question, with strange caprice.

(2) What the selective principle is, by what association the word was attracted and confined, appears plainly in the *things*, the objects not capable of personification, to which it belongs. It is said or implied in *Lexica* that κλυτός *renowned* is extended in Homer to the general sense of *beauteous* or *goodly*; but this statement is so inexact as to be practically false. How ill such large and vague expressions correspond with Homeric feeling about the

word, might appear sufficiently from the fact that Homer, using κλυτος incessantly, knows no such expression as, for example, κλυτὸς ἵππος. Even the limitation that 'Homer uses it especially of the works of human skill' (Liddell & Scott), though mainly true, is both too wide and too narrow. When the word does not mean simply and literally *renowned*, it is applied *solely* to works of art, or rather to works of *craft*, human or divine, and among works of craft almost exclusively to a small and peculiar class. *Arms* (and more rarely *clothes* in general) are everywhere κλυτά, κλυτὰ τεύχεα, κλυτὰ εἵματα, *houses* are everywhere κλυτά, κλυτὰ δώματα, and so are, here and there rarely, one or two other things of the same kind, that is to say, *products of craft which directly manifest the power, dignity, and security of the person by whom the craft is possessed or commanded.* The feeling which, whether known to the poets by observation or divined by imagination, the word expresses, is the admiration, respect, and worship attaching, in the rudimentary stage of civilisation, to *craft* and its possessors, to the empire of the metals, and the powers which depend upon it, good smith-work, good masonry, and good carpentry. That is why, with rare and dubious exceptions,[1] *males* only are κλυτοί; why Ἥφαιστος (or Ἀμφιγυήεις) and Ἐννοσίγαιος (not *Poseidon* as such), who would be patrons, one of the smithy and the other, in his *subterranean* office, of the mine, are conspicuously κλυτοί; and lastly, why the instances of κλυτὰ τεύχεα (εἵματα) and κλυτὰ δώματα are more numerous than all other κλυτά together. So also the objects, when specified, by which persons are entitled to the epithet, are almost always works of craft, and apparently never products of nature: κλυτόεργος, κλυτοτέχνης, κλυτότοξος, ναυσίκλυτος, δουρίκλυτος. It is in later poetry, not in Homer, that we find such expressions as κλυτόδενδρος.

It is worth while, since this topic lies deep in the sources of Homeric feeling, to dwell for a moment upon the signal illustration of it offered by four pictures in the *Odyssey*, all intended to create wonder, and in a certain sense admiration, the dwellings of Calypso, of Circe, of the Phaeacians, and of the Laestrygons. If κλυτός, to Homeric ears, had signified only that sentiment of vague and general admiration, which belongs to the terms which we have to put for it, to *beauteous, noble, goodly, glorious* and the like, then, among these homes and their occupants, the epithet must belong plainly and conspicuously, though with some difference perhaps in the shade of it, to Calypso and to Circe; it must apply also to the Phaeacians, less strongly perhaps but not much less; while to the Laestrygons it must be altogether refused. The abode of Calypso is painted as the very ideal of natural goodliness, that of Circe as consummate in the luxuries of magic, Phaeacia as exquisite in art; but the land of the Laestrygons, where was no tillage, 'no signs of the labour of men and oxen, only we saw the smoke curling upwards

[1] Even the very rare examples of a feminine κλυτός are not beyond suspicion (B 742, ε 422): κλυτή apparently does not occur, a significant fact. In ε 422 the unique κλυτὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη may be an error (suggested by κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος in the next line) for θεὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη or the like. In B 742 it is easy to restore a masculine κλυτῷ, and to account for the corruption of it.

from the land', is as dreary and repulsive as its people. But quite other, for Homer, are their claims to be *κλυτοί*. That is a matter not of beauty, but of craft. Calypso is not *κλυτός*, nor her cave, trees, waters, nor any of the fair things that belong to her. Neither (which might more surprise us) is Circe, no, not though she has a house, a true palace (*κ* 210 and *passim*), and that full of magnificent wonders. But this, if we have once felt the Homeric feeling about *κλυτός*, is intelligible enough and quite right. Magic may be superior to 'craft', but it is not the same thing. Houses of men, and of gods too, when and because they are the works of craft, are *κλυτὰ δώματα*: but the chambers of a witch, who could create serving-maids out of the fountains and streams (*κ* 350), need not be the product of craft at all; and accordingly the *δώματα* Κίρκης, though mentioned repeatedly and adorned with various epithets (*τετυγμένα*, *καλά*, even *ἱερά* or *mystic*), receive not once the familiar and regular Homeric epithet *κλυτά*: nor does anything which the witch possesses. The Phaeacians upon the same principle are of course *κλυτοί*, and their works *κλυτά*, *κλυτοί*, *ἀγάκλυτοι*, and *περίκλυτοι*, themselves, their dress, houses, sanctuaries, etc., etc.; not because they are 'goodly', but because they are in all things artists, and their dwelling-place full of wonderful art. For the Laestrygons and their works, though assuredly not 'goodly', 'beautiful', or attractive in any way, are *κλυτοί* and *κλυτά* no less, and indeed in this quality have a marked pre-eminence. The whole account of them and their country fills but 50 verses, as the Odyssean voyagers scarcely enter it and barely escape. Yet the epithet occurs three times (*κ* 87 *λιμένα κλυτόν*, 112 *κλυτὰ δώματα*, 114 *κλυτὸν Ἀντιφατῆα*), and is the first note, as it were, of Odysseus' impressions. And the reason, upon Homeric principles, is obvious. It is the 'artificial basin', with its plumb walls and projecting piers of wrought stone, which excites this awe in the beholders, and in Odysseus a salutary fear. It is the 'smooth road' and the 'high buildings' (103, 111), and the formidable weapons (121, 124), which show that Antiphates, king of the Laestrygons, commands to a supreme degree the resources of craft, and therefore, though cannibal, is emphatically *κλυτός*. Indeed it seems more than probable that 'Fargate of the Laestrygons' is, or originally was, a picture coloured, if not drawn, from the report of some terrified mariners, who, trading from lands of pasture and agriculture, saw for the first time some place, on the Euxine, may be, where metal-work was practised on a large scale; a sort of black country, where 'the smoke went up from the land', where the trolly, on paths of incredible facility, rolled down from the hills the wood for the furnace (*κ* 102), where shifts so extended the hours of labour that 'night and day near met in one,'[1] and whence the visitor, roughly handled by the hard workmen and appalled by the signs of their skill and power, fled away to report that their figures were gigantic, and that they lived, like the Martians of Mr. Wells' romance, on the flesh of men. Such at all events is in

[1] *κ* 85. There is nothing inconsistent with this in the current suggestion, that the 'meeting of night and day' refers to the brief summer nights of the far-north. It would be on the Euxine that a Greek would probably first hear a rumour of this phenomenon.

fact the Laestrygonian type; and it illustrates excellently the true Homeric sense of κλυτός, *grand, great*, a word for us not really translatable, but approximating in effect to *powerful* or rather *craftful*, implying awe rather than mere admiration, and from all such terms as *beauteous* or *goodly* to be sharply sundered and distinguished. The gracious life of Aeolus, and the hideous life of Antiphates, are passed alike in κλυτὰ δώματα (κ 60, 112), for this praise belongs to the 'brazen bulwark' and the 'sheer stone', though it does not belong to the fairy's paradise nor to the witch's bower.

But against a general background of this shade, ascertained, as we must remember, by scores and scores of examples, three examples stand out in conspicuous disagreement, both with the general rule and with one another. Each offends against Homeric usage, and offends in a different way. They have long been observed for their peculiarity, and all receive special notice, for instance, from Liddell and Scott.

(1) Once, and once only, is broken the rule that natural things, products of nature, cannot be κλυτά. The *herds* of the Cyclops seem to be such (ι 308): καὶ τότε πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ ἤμελγε κλυτὰ μῆλα.

(2) Once, and strangely, *mankind* as a whole seems to be a κλυτόν. When Sleep has done his errand for Hera, he departs ἐπὶ κλυτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων (Ξ 361).

(3) Once, most strangely of all, *the dead*, universally, seem to be κλυτοί or κλυτά. Odysseus, at the entrance of the lower world, must address his prayers to κλυτὰ ἔθνεα νεκρῶν (κ 526).

Now we have no right, until the severest scrutiny has shown that no other explanation is open, to assume, in the circumstances, that these three exceptions are genuine. The presumption against them is enormous. Take the first. The epic poets mention hundreds and hundreds of times domestic animals such as βόες, αἶγες, ἵπποι, κύνες, ὄϊες, μῆλα, αἰπόλια, etc., etc., and with many admiring epithets. The adjective κλυτός, expressing as it does a peculiarly characteristic feeling, is one of their favourite words. If such phrases as κλυτοὶ βόες, κλυτὰ μῆλα, had really been possible to their ears, what likelihood is there that we should be left with one single example? Why should the flocks of the Cyclops be selected for this praise, and what does it mean? To all the notions normally suggested by κλυτός, the life and manners of the Cyclops, a rude, easeful, sluttish simplicity without culture of any kind, present the extreme opposite. 'Celebrated' they were not, neither they nor anything of theirs, for they were cut off from the world and unknown; and as for their flocks, it does not appear that they differed from flocks in general. They are 'fat', they are 'fleecy'; but how should they exhibit the greatness of *power* and *craft*? Expositors have felt this so strongly as even to suggest that κλυτά here should mean *noisy, loud*; but that is a counsel of desperation.

To call *mankind* or the *tribes of men* κλυτά is so far at least more intelligible, as the quality so predicated is proper to beings who are men or manlike. But it does not belong to the type of man. It is essentially a trait of superiority and dominion. We are told that here it indicates the

superiority of mankind to the brutes. But why should this conception, than which surely none could be more alien from the general tone of the Epos, suddenly force itself upon the poet's mind, when contemplating mankind in a relation *essentially animal and common to the brutes*? In relation to *Sleep*, man is but a brute. Why then, because visited by Sleep, should men excite, for this once, the peculiar admiration expressed by κλυτός, or indeed any admiration at all?

And *the dead*? The fame, lordliness, power, craft of the dead! They are the silent, strengthless, forgotten, the—all which κλυτοί are not. For though *Lexica* may say that this κλυτὰ ἔθνεα νεκρῶν refers to 'illustrious' dead, it does not refer to illustrious dead, but distinctly and expressly to 'all the dead' (κ 518), the dead in general, 'brides and grooms, long-laboured age and tender virginity' (λ 38). Perhaps nothing is more characteristic of the Epos than the absence and repudiation of all ideas attributing power and ability to the dead. They are essentially helpless and craftless, and, if they may ever recover activity for a time, can do so only by aid and gift of the living; and their intercourse with Ulysses on this occasion is especially impressed with that conception. Why then should they here for once be κλυτά, and in what sense?

In short, these passages are not explicable, and the presumption is that they are erroneous, a presumption hard indeed to prove, but not incapable of proof. Suppose that the error were the same in all three. Suppose there were a word, which, while scarcely distinguishable from κλυτός, fitted each of the three unconnected contexts, and supplied in each a fresh point. Could it be reasonably doubted, that this word, and not κλυτός, was the word employed? Such a word is κλῑτός, *couched, lying down*, the participial adjective from κλῑ- *to couch*, related to κεκλῑμένος *couched* as χῡτός, φθῑτός, and many other words of this poetic and archaic type, to κεχῡμένος, ἐφθῑμένος and the rest. The flocks of the Cyclops, though not otherwise miraculous or marvellous, are remarkable in this, that *they share at night the home of their master*. It is the first thing that we hear of them; 'we saw a cave...near to the sea, and there many flocks and herds were used to sleep. And about it a high outer court was built with stones.....And a man was wont to sleep therein, of monstrous size, who shepherded his flocks alone and afar,' and so on (ι 182). The males lay usually in the yard, but the females, 'all that he milked', actually within the cave (*ib.* 237), the filthiness of which is noted with epic simplicity (*ib.* 329); and the Cyclops lay among them, κεῖτ' ἔντοσθ' ἄντροιο ταυυσσάμενος διὰ μήλων (*ib.* 298); and these arrangements, it will be remembered, are of the first importance, not only to the colour of the tale, but to the incidents. It is therefore natural and to the purpose, that the narrator, his mind full of this picture, should describe how at morning, after Odysseus' first night there, the giant 'kindled the fire and milked his *couchéd* flocks' (πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ ἤμελγε κλιτὰ μῆλα, *ib.* 308), those, that is, who shared his bed, the word, more man-like than beast-like, glancing aptly at his beast-like habits. And it may be observed, that in the evenings, when the beasts have not been 'couched', it is not the κλιτὰ μῆλα who are milked, but 'the ewes and bleating she-goats' (*ib.* 244, 341).

So again very properly Sleep, when he has finished the special employment for which he was summoned to Olympus by Hera, departs 'to the couches of mankind' (*ᾤχετ' ἐπὶ κλιτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων*), returns, that is to say, to his ordinary sphere and business. Where else should his visits be paid but to 'them that lie down'?

And among those that sleep, couch, and lie down, one class in particular receive the name, in Homeric language as in all others, specially and distinctively, those that have lain down for ever, *κλιτὰ ἔθνεα νεκρῶν*, the 'tribes of the couchéd dead'.

Now one of two things: either the exact and varied applicability of the word *κλιτός* to these three occasions, selected upon other grounds and without reference to such applicability, is accidental, or it proves that *κλιτός* was indeed the word there used. For myself, I hold the first alternative to be fantastically impossible, and therefore embrace the second, taking it as certain that the epic poets had a word *κλιτός couched*, which was liable (this is obviously true) to be confused with the homophonous *κλυτός*, and, being archaic in type and replaced in later language by other equivalents, has actually given way to *κλυτός* and disappeared. It was still alive and known, when these parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed; and we shall do well to consider whether we can trace it later.

As to the phrase from the *Iliad*, *κλυτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων*, we have some interesting evidence in the 'Pythian' part of the *Hymn to Apollo*, an imitative composition dating probably from the sixth century, later at any rate than the Epos in general, and bearing many marks of its lateness. Here we read, when Pytho is being recommended to Apollo for the site of his future oracle (270), 'There no fair chariots shall go the round, nor shall there be noise of swift-foot steeds about the fair-built altar; yet to that privacy (*καὶ ὥς*) *the great peoples of men* (*ἀνθρώπων κλυτὰ φῦλα*) may bring gifts to Ié-paion, and thou with glad heart mayst receive the fair victims of men that dwell around (*περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων*).' And again, the monster snake of Pytho 'did many a mischief among the great peoples of men' who came to the place as builders and worshippers (355). 'Whoever met her, became the prey of his fate.' And again, 'All sacrifices,' says Apollo (537) 'that *the great peoples of men* (*περικλυτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων*) shall bring to me.' It is clear that the ear of this author had been caught, as well it might be, by the expression in this form, with *κλυτά*; and he treats it exactly as traditional phrases from our own archaic and consecrated literature, sometimes no better founded or more significant, are dealt with by our own poets and preachers. He does his best, that is, to accommodate it with a proper context and meaning. With this purpose, he has changed the sense of *φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων*. In the *Iliad* this means of course simply *mankind*, the human *species*, as *φῦλα θεῶν* means *gods*, and *φῦλα γυναικῶν the female sex*. But in the *Hymn*, conformably to later use, *φῦλα* means *peoples, nations*, the inhabitants of that earth of which Pytho was supposed the centre. And further, since it is for the glory of the god that these *tribes* are brought into view, the epithet *κλυτά great, grand, mighty*, has at least so much reflected propriety as is sufficient

for a consecrated formula. It is plain therefore that into this phrase, by the sixth century, κλυτά had already obtruded itself, though whether this was the form in which the phrase first attached itself to the worship of Delphi (or rather Pytho), is not so clear. There is reason to think (see Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 1262) that there, as at other sanctuaries of oracular and medicinal deities, prescriptions were once sought by the method of *sleeping* in the sacred precinct, and communicated by dreams. The appearance in connexion with the gifts, which the ἀνθρώπων φῦλα were to bring, of the name *Paion*, of the *snake*, and of the need for *quiet*, bears a strong suggestion of this Asclepian usage, and of κλιτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων, *couched* or *sleeping men*, as the primitive form belonging to it.

However in the sixth century κλυτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων somewhere certainly, and perhaps therefore in the *Iliad*, had established itself. But in the *Odyssey* κλιτὰ μῆλα not κλυτὰ (and probably therefore also κλιτὰ ἔθνεα νεκρῶν) might still be read a century later. For Sophocles read it, and copied it in this passage of the *Ajax* (372):—

> ὦ δύσμορος, ὃς χερὶ μὲν
> μεθῆκα τοὺς ἀλάστορας, ἐν δ' ἑλίκεσσι
> βουσὶ καὶ κλιτοῖς πεσὼν αἰπολίοις
> ἐρεμνὸν αἷμ' ἔδευσα.

'Wretch that I am, who suffered the accursed men to slip through my hands, but fell on coiléd kine and couchéd flocks, and made their dark blood flow!' That he has here in mind the Homeric phrase there can be little doubt, but that he read and wrote κλυτὰ, κλυτοῖς, is not easily credible. Even if such expressions as κλυτὰ αἰπόλια, 'fine herds', had been familiar to the Epos (where in fact nothing of the sort ever occurs), they would still not have been suitable for transplanting into the style of Sophocles. Largely as the Attic dramatists use the Epic vocabulary, especially of course in lyrics, it is not their habit (unless I am mistaken) to adopt from the Epos the conventional simplicity of its 'fixed epithets'; nor do they use Epic words without regard to the changes and restrictions of meaning, which they had since undergone. As an example of the first point we may note, that this seems to be the sole appearance in Attic drama, perhaps in any poetry not professedly imitating the Epic, of ἕλικες βόες. And the second point is well illustrated by the Sophoclean use of κλυτός itself. The use of it in Homer, as we have seen, is strongly affected and limited by a special association, which, so far as we can trace, has little to do with the etymology. In Sophocles on the other hand the special, archaic feeling and significance is naturally lost; the etymology recovers its hold; and κλυτός means simply *glorious, famous* in the strict sense. Thus in *Oed. Tyr.* 172 the fruits of the earth (κλυτᾶς χθονός) are her *glory*, and spoils are *glorious* in *Ai.* 177. It is the same generally speaking in Pindar, with whom, as might be expected, the word *famous* is a favourite.[1] It

[1] Pind. *Pyth* 9, 36 ὁσία κλυτὰν χέρα οἱ προσενεγκεῖν, ἥ ῥα καὶ ἐκ λεχέων κεῖραι μελιηδέα ποίαν; is hardly explicable by this sense of κλυτός, or indeed by any other. That Apollo

seems then strange that Sophocles should introduce κλυτός here in some vague sense, which, even if it were Homeric, would still not be Sophoclean, inasmuch as it is irrelevant to the context and the thing described. There seems not to be, either in the nature of the beasts which the Greek army had collected for food, or in the situation of Ajax, any reason why he should speak of them with admiration. But there is much reason why he should speak of them as *couched* or *sleeping*, for he had massacred them *in the night*, an addition to their helplessness and his disgrace.

It will be noticed that ἑλίκεσσι βουσί is translated above by 'coiléd kine', as if parallel to '*couchéd* flocks'. I believe that it is, or at least that Sophocles so intended; but this supposition is not necessary to a preference for κλιτοῖς over κλυτοῖς. In Homer ἕλικες βόες, whatever the first word signified or had signified, practically means no more than *kine*, and Sophocles might have borrowed it bodily in this sense. What was the true, original sense is a question so remotely connected with our subject, that it cannot be treated here otherwise than summarily. It is clear (see for example Ebeling *s.v.*) that the Graeco-Roman scholars had no information on the point, and were justly dissatisfied with their guesses. The conditions apparently are (1) that the word should describe some bovine characteristic, universal and obvious; and (2) that it should be deducible from the notion *curling, curled, curled up, coiled*, for ἕλιξ exhibits this sense and no other, with peculiar distinctness, in all Greek from Homer downwards. Indeed it is scarcely too much to say, upon the facts, that to a Greek ear ἕλιξ cannot have conveyed anything else, and the question really is, Why did the Epos speak of *kine* as *curled* or *coiled*? The bovine *horn* (one interpretation) is *not* universally and specifically ἕλιξ, nor, if it were, would it make the beast such; its *hair* is not more ἕλιξ than that of many other animals, nor so much; and its 'rolling' or rather swinging *gait*, due mainly to the great bulk of the body in proportion to the supports, is not ἕλιξ at all, for the word describes *shape*, not movement, and the equivocal 'rolling' is an illegitimate bridge. The alleged rolling or turning of the feet might explain εἰλίποδες, but not ἕλικες: nor can I think it likely, whatever may be the scientific truth, that herdsmen and poets would have chosen a mark which, as anyone may prove by watching, is, in the common, slow motions of the creature, to say the least, not conspicuous. It remains however very probable that the two standing epithets εἰλίποδες and ἕλικες are in some way connected. Is it possible—I put it only as a suggestion, which in any case, I believe, was favoured by Sophocles—that both were derived from the *couchant* posture, and pointed to the beast's manner and inveterate habit of *lying down*? Certainly nothing is more obviously characteristic, both the thing and the way of it. Whether a cow 'tucks up its feet', when it lies, more completely than a sheep or goat, I cannot say, but from the bulk of its body it seems to do so. It will often look, from a little distance, as if it had no

should speak, in this connexion, of his κλυτὰν χέρα, *glorious* or *famous* hand, has not been proved intelligible; and I believe that Pindar said κλιτὰν χέρα (from κλιτής, and equivalent to κλίνουσαν) with a meaning natural and obvious. Aeschylus and Euripides scarcely use κλυτός at all, and throw no light upon it.

legs at all. In stepping also, the curl of its lifted fore-leg is, for some reason, very conspicuous. And, as every one knows, it is always 'tucking up' and remaining 'tucked up' for hours together. Now the prefix εἰλι- points to a *curling up* as well as to a *rolling along*, perhaps more naturally. It seems therefore not impossible that εἰλίποδες originally meant this, and that ἕλικες βόες, *coiled kine*, described the same thing from a slightly different point of view. Probably the epic poets scarcely felt in ἕλικες any separate significance at all; but we can less easily suppose this of Sophocles and his Athenian audience, who, if they took the view here propounded, had a case for it as students of Homer, and an excellent defence for the combination of ἕλικες βόες with κλιτὰ αἰπόλια.

Returning now to our theme, we have it, as the result of this long excursion, that the Epic vocabulary contained the word κλιτός, overlaid in script, as might be expected, by the familiar κλυτός, which indeed may be called a mis-spelling of it. Like hundreds of other words, like most words of its class, it disappeared from the fully developed language, leaving relics in the grammarians' ἑτερόκλιτος, ἐγκλιτικός, in ἔκκλιτος *avoidable* (Photius), and perhaps elsewhere. A traditional κλυτόπωλος is therefore ambiguous between these letters and κλιτόπωλος. Now we have seen already that κλιτός *couched* was a description proper to *sleepers* and to *the dead*, and further that it was applied to sleepers as receiving the visits of the personified Sleep. But further it can be shown that πωλο- (πωλέομαι) was a proper term for the *haunt* or *visit* of such personages as *Sleep* and *Death*; for it is applied by Aeschylus to those of their kinsman the *Dream*. 'Visions of the night, coming ever to my maiden chamber' (αἰεὶ γαρ ὄψεις ἔννυχοι πωλεύμεναι ἐς παρθενῶνας τοὺς ἐμούς...) says the Aeschylean Io (*P. V.* 672), adopting, as the archaic form shows, the language of some more ancient poet. Combining these elements, we have, in Hades κλιτόπωλος (*quasi* ὁ παρὰ κλιτοὺς πωλούμενος), Death *who frequenteth the fallen, who visiteth them that lie down*, whose *haunt* is among such. For the form of the compound we may compare ἄγραυλος (ὁ ἐν ἄγροις αὐλιζόμενος), ἀνδρόστροφος (ὁ ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρεφόμενος), ἀιδοφοίτης (ὁ φοιτῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἅιδην), δικάσπολος (ὁ πολούμενος εἰς δίκας), etc. And since, when Death visits a person living, it is for the soul that he comes, it is natural that he should never appear as κλιτόπωλος except in the act of receiving it.

As for κλυτόπωλος, it may have existed in the Epos in the only sense there possible[1], *famous for foals*, but there is no proof of it. It might perhaps have been an epithet for *Dardania*, and it appears as such in one of the 'Lives of Homer', but with εὔπωλον (already discussed) as a variant. But in truth it was not with such things as *foals* (or *horses*) that κλυτός was associated by genuinely Homeric minds, and the balance of likelihood is

[1] The only sense, that is, in which the word could have been originally and deliberately invented. The reading Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλῳ, with the explanation 'Death the ranger', must, I should think, go back, as an alternative, to the fifth century at least, and may even, as an alternative, be 'Homeric'. But invention does not account wholly for its origin, which requires the co-operation of accident.

against their having known κλυτόπωλος at all. To later poets it was perfectly natural, and in the sense *famous for horses.* Pindar (fr. 289) applies it in this sense to Poseidon, but whether he got it from his own invention, from Homer, or elsewhere, there is nothing to show.

With the disappearance from Homer of Hades κλυτόπωλος disappears all reason (see Dr. Leaf on E 654) for thinking that by the Greeks, or at any rate by Homeric Greeks, Death and the Horse were associated. That Hades the god, like any other great personage, might use horses upon a suitable occasion, as for example to carry off Persephoné, goes without saying; but he was not thought, so far as appears, to use them much; and at all events between them and his function as Death, the Homeric imagination had not established any connexion. It is doubtful (but that is beyond our scope) whether the Greek imagination ever did.

A. W. Verrall.

THE DOUBLE CITY OF MEGALOPOLIS.

§ 1. It is less easy to forgive Xenophon for telling us so little about the foundation of Megalopolis than for telling us nothing at all about the foundation of Messene. We would give much to know the details of the building of the city on the slopes of Ithome and the synoecism of Messenia; but Megalopolis, in its double character of a federate city and a federal capital, presented such complicated problems that the silence of those who could have best told us how those problems were solved is more aggravating than many of such silences to the curiosity of posterity. In this paper I propose to deal with one problem which seems never to have been quite realised.

§ 2. The investigation of the site conducted seven years ago by the British school confirmed, within less than half a mile, the statement of Polybius that the circumference of the walls was 50 stadia, and showed that the name Megalopolis was not so much a claim to unusual political importance for the new city as an appropriate expression of its unusual dimensions. The circuit of the walls, as traced by Mr. Loring, measured 46 stadia (or 47½, if we add twice the breadth of the river).[1] It is evident that the main reason for not selecting one of the older Arcadian towns as the centre of the Arcadian League, when it was founded in B.C. 371–0, was not, as Grote thought, their mutual jealousies, but rather their small size; and, on the other hand, the motive of the relatively large circuit of Megalopolis was its intended position as capital of the League. Strategically such a large circuit was a weak point, not only because there was more wall to defend, but also because, owing to the expense of building and the necessity of building quickly, a long wall could not be built as solidly and well as a short one. A comparison of the remains of the wall of Megalopolis with those of the wall of Mantinea brings

[1] *Excavations at Megalopolis*, 1890–1891 (*J.H.S. Supp.* i., 1892), p. 114. Measuring the circuit myself on Mr. Loring's plan, I made it out to be nearly 20 stades longer. Having puzzled over this discrepancy, I discovered that he has accidentally given a wrong scale for the stades (in which 5 stades correspond to about 750 yards). For comparison it may be mentioned that the circuit of Thebes was 43 stades, that of Corinth (not including Acro-Corinth) 40, that of straggling unwalled Sparta 48.

into relief the second defect;[1] while the difficulty of defence is illustrated in the later history of the town.[2]

§ 3. We have not sufficient data to enable us to determine the population of Megalopolis. A statement of Diodorus which has been used for this purpose contains an unknown element. In his account of the siege of the city by Polysperchon, the historian states that the number of citizens, slaves, and ξένοι who were able to take part in the defence was 15,000. Now (1) the ξένοι are an unknown quantity, and (2) Diodorus does not tell us how old were the oldest, and how young the youngest, of those males, citizens and slaves, who bore arms in this emergency.[3] Instead of attempting to deduce a definite figure, it is safer to infer the magnitude of the population relatively to the other cities of Arcadia from the inscription in honour of the Athenian Phylarchus. This document[4] has been generally supposed to belong to the third century, and to prove a revival of the Arcadian League. But it really belongs to the first years of the League,[5] and may be fixed to the years B.C. 368–363.[6] Of the fifty damiorgi of the Federation who are enumerated, ten are Megalopolitans and nine Mantineans.[7] The presumption is that this proportion roughly corresponds to the proportion of the respective populations of the two cities. Without pressing the inference too far, we may safely say that, if the only purpose of Megalopolis had been to synoecize the Maenalians and Parrhasians, a city one quarter as large again as Mantinea would have been ample for the need, with room to spare. But the area of Megalopolis is nearly four times[8] that of Mantinea. It follows that the superfluous space was required for Federal purposes.

§ 4. When the fact is grasped that the magnitude of Megalopolis was determined by its double character, we are soon led on to perceive some difficulties which must have caused anxious and serious meditation to the Arcadian[9] statesmen who conceived and carried out the plan of its founda-

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 109.

[2] Polybius, 5, 93. Cp. below § 13.

[3] Mr. Woodhouse (*Excavations*, p. 3) uses the figures of Diodorus, and arrives at 'a population of perhaps 65,000' (both freemen and slaves); Beloch (*die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, p. 127) calculates 60,000 from the same data; both assume that ξένοι = μέτοικοι. Of course, in any case, the data and the inference refer to the population of the town along with the district (χώρα, Diodor. 18, 70), and not the town alone. I doubt much whether we can implicitly trust the figures of Diodorus.

[4] Dittenberger, *Syll.* n. 167.

[5] This has been recognised by Dittenberger, *ib.* p. 661.

[6] The limits are fixed by the presence of Mantinean, Orchomenian, and Heraean damiorgi. The decree must have been prior to the secession of Mantinea, and posterior to the accession of Heraea and Orchomenos. One of the reasons for assigning the later date was the Attic dialect of the inscription. It seems to me that this objection is answered by the inscriptions of Antiochos on the fronts of the seat-backs in the Megalopolitan theatre.

[7] There are only five Tegeates, and we may infer that their town had declined in numbers. Beloch (*loc. cit.*) is wrong in his statement that Megalopolis sent as many delegates 'as Mantinea and Tegea together.'

[8] See below § 10.

[9] Epaminondas often gets the credit for Megalopolis—without any evidence, I think, except the flourish of Pausanias, who says he might rightly be called the oecist of Megalopolis. The fact that he was the actual oecist of Messene,

tion. It was impossible to expect the Parrhasians and Maenalians, who now gave up their old tribal names and took the civic name of Megalopolitans, to undertake the responsibility of defending the whole line of fortification of a town which was far larger than their own needs required. And, on the other hand, the Pan-Arcadian League could not prudently place its buildings and its treasury at the mercy of one of its members. It was manifest that some precautions were necessary for the protection of the League, in case Megalopolis were ever induced to secede.

The interests of the League, as well as the interests of the city, demanded that Megalopolis should be defended not only by the Megalopolitan state, but also by the Pan-Arcadian state; and the demand could be met only by the formation of a corps of federal troops. This is what was done. We find a band of 5,000 soldiers paid by the League, ready for service in any emergency, but quite distinct from the federal host, which gathered to march against an enemy when need called, but dispersed when the campaign was over. It is a legitimate inference that the constant duty of the Eparitoi, or a considerable part of that body, was to act as the garrison of Megalopolis. They were always available for emergencies elsewhere; but it was the existence of the Federal capital that in the first place rendered the formation of the Eparitoi indispensable.

But when the necessity of a Pan-Arcadian garrison for the Pan-Arcadian capital had been recognised, there were many contingencies and dangers arising out of the double character of the town, which it was of great moment to foresee and provide against.

§ 5. Megalopolis possessed one feature in common with the elder Mantinea, which King Agesipolis had rased to the ground. The river Ophis flowed through Mantinea, and by damming it up the Spartan king had succeeded in taking the town. When the Mantineans rebuilt the city in the same months which saw the foundation of Megalopolis, they took good care to keep the fatal river outside their walls by digging a second channel for it, so that the stream divided on the east side, and, embracing the city round about, reunited its waters again in the north-west. Then what had been a weakness became a strength. In the same way the Helisson flowed through Megalopolis: but here there was not the same danger, since the ground was hilly, and not a dead flat like the site of Mantinea. Many Greek cities, perhaps most, were built on rivers; but they were generally skirted or girt by them. It is no common thing to find a fortified city divided by a stream.[1]

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combined with the support which he gave to the organisation of the Arcadian League, might easily set afloat the idea that he was responsible for Megalopolis too. With our present evidence we are bound, in my opinion, to give the credit of the idea to the Arcadian leaders who were active in organising the federal state. The sending of Pammenes from Thebes to protect the building of the city proves nothing. See Paus. 8, 27, 2.

[1] Pausanias cites Cnidus and Mytilene; 8, 30, 2. Dirce flowing through Thebes is another instanee, but the case is somewhat different. There is no doubt that Dirce was originally outside the walls; the western extension of the city across the stream was comparatively late.

§ 6. It was this river which supplied the founders of the Pan-Arcadian city with a simple means of solving their problem. The meaning of Megalopolis began to dawn on me when I stood on one of the high benches in the theatre and, looking northward, felt driven to ask why the city had crossed the river. It would have been in accordance with the design of other Greek cities if the circuit had been entirely on the southern side of the Helisson, stretching south-eastward over the site of the modern town. Strategical considerations would have emphatically recommended this plan; for, if the northern wall had skirted the south bank of the river, the city would have been strengthened by an additional natural defence on the northern side. The inevitable inference is that there were cogent reasons of a political nature for disregarding the obvious considerations of strategy; and it is obvious that these reasons can only have been connected with the double character of the place. There is no difficulty in drawing the conclusion—

The Helisson divided the Federate city from the Federal capital.

§ 7. The northern half of Megalopolis was the city of Megalopolis in the strict political sense. For its defence the Megalopolitan citizens were responsible, just as the Mantineans were responsible for the defence of Mantinea; and it was as exempt as Mantinea from Federal interference. The Agora was laid out on the north bank, and the Buleuterion was built beside it.[1] This Hall of Council had nothing to do with the League; it was for exclusively Megalopolitan purposes. The councillors who met together there dealt with the affairs of the city; they were in no way concerned with the direction of the affairs of the Federation. When they went to take their place in the Federal Assembly and let their voice be heard in the discussion of Federal affairs, they were obliged to cross by bridge[2] the river which divided their own city from the Federal capital of Arcadia.

The southern division of Megalopolis was Pan-Arcadian ground. Here were all the Federal buildings and offices. Here stood the great Hall of Council or Assembly, called the Thersilion, in front of the theatre, which might itself be used for holding the meetings of the Ten Thousand. Here the Arcadian citizens, who gathered from all parts of the land to the capital of the League, were lodged, whether in permanent dwelling places, or in temporary tents, like those which served the spectators at the Olympian festival. Here dwelled the Federal magistrates and officers for their term of office here were the Pan-Arcadian treasury and the Pan-Arcadian archives. Here too the Eparitoi must have had their quarters; and it was their duty, in case of an hostile assault, to defend the southern circuit of the walls. Here were ample spaces for the Arcadian throng to group themselves, the folk of each city, we may guess, in a quarter of its own, and to mix together, not only in

[1] Pausanias, 8, 30, 4.

[2] It is remarkable that no traces of an ancient bridge have been found, and it may be questioned whether Megalopolis ever had a stone bridge. A wooden bridge seems the most probable hypothesis.

the debates of business, but in the festivities and amusements which would accompany the national meetings.

The temples enumerated by Pausanias throw no light on the matter. Those which he saw on the north side suggest no federal association. On the south he mentions seven: three of these (two to Asclepius, one to Artemis Agrotera) seem to have been still used, the other four were in ruins. Seeing this progress of decay, we cannot be surprised to find no mention of a sanctuary of federal significance, such as one may confidently assume to have existed during the federal period of the history of the city.

§ 8. By this arrangement the sojourners in the Federal capital, with those who came from time to time to attend the Assemblies, as well as the small number of permanent Federal officials, and the military garrison, had all the advantages of living in a city; while the Federation was secured against the danger of Megalopolitan encroachment, against all confusion between Megalopolitan and Pan-Arcadian rights, by the clear and unmistakable boundary of Helisson's stream. In case a party in Megalopolis should ever induce the city to desert the League—and this was a terrible contingency which the founders of the dual town had to face—the Pan-Arcadian capital would indeed be in a serious peril; but it would not without more ado pass into the hands of the seceders, as must have been the case if there had been no physical barrier corresponding to the difference between Megalopolis as a sovran city and Megalopolis as a Federal capital. In such an event the garrison of the southern town could easily maintain itself against the northern until reinforcements from the Arcadian cities arrived; and northern and southern Megalopolis on either bank of their river might conceivably exist side by side, hostile and independent.

§ 9. Thus the river performed a twofold function. It was a barrier which preserved the distinction between the two characters of Megalopolis against obliteration or confusion; and it was also a military defence for the Federal capital against the possible revolt of the city to which it was locally attached. When Megalopolis was to be defended against a common enemy, the river was no hindrance to free communication between the Megalopolitan and the Pan-Arcadian sections of the garrison; one city, and not two, was besieged, one city, and not two, was defended. But, if the Arcadian League were ever threatened by the hostility of Megalopolis itself, then the river would assume a new aspect, and become the northern fortification of the Federal capital, the southern fortification of the revolting city; Megalopolis would break up into two adjacent towns. The Helisson served the purpose of a barrier, without obtruding that purpose as an artificial barrier would have done; the innocent river need not suggest to the dwellers on its northern bank that the Federal government had ever considered the possibility of their defection or the necessity of a line of defence against them.

§ 10. It has been pointed out above that a town one quarter as large again as Mantinea would have been of luxuriously ample size for Megalopolis,

if Megalopolis had not been the Federal capital. Now *the northern city* more than fulfils this condition; for it *is about one third as large again as Mantinea.* I have calculated[1] the areas of Mantinea and the two Megalopolitan towns, by weighing them in accurate scales, as follows:—

Area of Mantinea[2]	1,471,512 square yards or (1,230,247 square metres)
Area of Northern Megalopolis[3]	1,977,486 square yards
Area of Southern Megalopolis	2,113,238 square yards
Total area of Megalopolis	4,090,724 square yards

§ 11. It is important to remember that the theatre was intended for Arcadia, and not merely for Megalopolis. It was a Federal building, and its construction must have been paid for out of Federal funds. This is proved (1) by its close connexion with the Federal Hall of Assembly—a connexion which is structural and not one of mere proximity; and (2) by its vast size, compared with the little theatre of Mantinea. The Hall of Assembly, affording standing room for 10,000, and the Theatre, capable of seating 20,000,[4] were part of the same design. The Megalopolitans of course had the advantage of the theatre; when it was not required for Federal purposes, it was available for them; this was one of the advantages to set off against the disadvantages of their close union with the Federal capital. The inscriptions of Antiochus on the backs of the front seats, which belong to the first twenty years of the history of Megalopolis, accord with the Federal character of the theatre. Antiochus is probably the envoy whom the Arcadian League sent up to Susa in B.C. 367. Xenophon describes him as an Arcadian pancratiast; and he is probably the pancratiast of Lepreum mentioned by Pausanias.[5] This hypothetical identity confirms the view that the benches which Antiochus dedicated in the theatre were a gift to the Pan-Arcadian League and not to the Megalopolitan city.

§ 12. The serious disadvantage in the position of the Megalopolitan state was the prospect which it had to face in case the League were weakened or dissolved. In the latter case the southern town would be thrown entirely into

[1] The calculation depends on the plans of Messrs. Fougères and Loring.

[2] If Mantinea be treated as an ellipse, the area (πab), calculated from M. Fougères' statement of the lengths of the major and minor axes, would give 1,136,630 metres. The fact that the ellipse is not perfect, being extremely blunted at one side, accounts for the difference in the results. My colleague, Mr. W. E. Thrift, kindly helped me in these calculations.

[3] If Polybius had known these measurements he might have used them for further illustration of the geometrical truth which he insists upon, that the relative sizes of two cities do not correspond to their circuits. The circuit of the wall of the southern town is a little less than 2½ miles, that of the northern a little more than 3 miles. The entire circumference of the northern town is about 4 miles. The circumference of Mantinea is somewhat more than 2½ miles (3,942 metres = 21 stades, 180 feet); see Fougères, 'Fouilles de Mantinée,' *B.C.H.* 1890, pp. 68–70.

[4] 19,700: R. W. Schultz in *Excav.* p. 41.

[5] 6. 3. 9.

the hands of the Megalopolitans, and they would have to defend a town twice too large for them. And, if the richer and more powerful members seceded, the treasury would be no longer able to support an adequate Pan-Arcadian garrison, and in this case too the city would suffer. The defection of Mantinea was thus a serious blow to Megalopolis; and ten years after its foundation the city itself must have borne the chief burden in holding the League together. It was obviously to its interest to do so. The manner in which Demosthenes, when he advises Athens in B.C. 353–2 to support Megalopolis against Sparta, uses the terms 'Megalopolitans' and 'Arcadians' as almost synonymous, is highly significant.[1] We do not know whether the *Eparitoi* still survived in any shape, but we may be sure that the stress of defending the southern as well as the northern wall fell upon the citizens of Megalopolis. When the League was dissolved about thirty years later, the Federal side of Megalopolis, which had been ever becoming less and less important, finally disappeared;[2] the Pan-Arcadian town south of the river was left to the Megalopolitans to deal with as they could or would; and they had at least the consolation of having undivided and undisputed possession of the great theatre and the adjoining stadion. The front seats could now be reserved for the magnates of Megalopolis, being no longer required for the magnates of Arcadia; and the wedges could be appropriated to the tribes of the city. We find tribal names inscribed on the backs of some of the front seat-backs, in letters which are ascribed to the second century B.C.;[3] they represent the Megalopolitan, just as the inscription of Antiochus represents the Federal, stage in the history of the theatre.

§ 13. The deserted spaces of Megalopolis must have impressed visitors by a melancholy sense of the contrast between the high hopes and ambitious designs with which Lycomedes and his fellows had gone to work in founding the League, and the speedy decay and disappearance of the institution which they had called into being. The inhabitants within their unmanageable girth of wall must have sometimes felt with bitterness that they had been sacrificed to the fond dream of a perpetually united Arcadian nation.[4] Mr. Freeman observes that, though 'the great scheme of Lykomêdês, the

[1] Cp. Demosth. *Meg.* §§ 30, 31, 32, &c.

[2] Hyperid., *Dem.* xvi. ed. Blass, where the critical words are unfortunately missing. The internal history of Arcadia is obscure after the battle of Mantinea. We find the Federal Assembly active in B.C. 347 and 344, hearing the pleadings of Aeschines and Demosthenes (Dem. *F.L.* §§ 10, 11, *De Cor.* § 79). In the war of Agis and Antipater, B.C. 330, Megalopolis supported the Macedonian, and had almost all Arcadia against her (Aesch. *Ctes.* § 165). Did Megalopolis at this crisis pretend to represent the League, and did her opponents meet for federal purposes at some other centre?

[3] *Excav.* pp. 123, 124.

[4] For the proposal to reduce the girth of the city after its capture by Cleomenes in B.C. 222, see Polybius, 5. 93. The disaster is distinctly ascribed to the size and emptiness (τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν) of the place. But there is no hint in Polybius that its population had decreased since the fourth century. The pillage by Cleomenes reduced the inhabitants to poverty (§ 2, πολλῶν μὲν ἐπιδεῖσθαι πάντων δὲ σπανίζειν). One would have thought that it might have been feasible to build a new southern wall to the northern town, along the bank of the river, and pull down the fortifications of the southern town, thus leaving the theatre outside the walls. Before the time of Strabo (8, 8, 1) the Great City was 'a great wilderness. Cp. Pausanias, 8, 33, 1.

most promising that any Grecian statesman had yet designed, had altogether fallen asunder, his labours were far from being wholly fruitless. He had given a model for the statesmen of later generations to follow.'[1] But he had also given a warning. The ingenious experiment of a double city was not tried again. If the Arcadian Megalopolis had never existed, it is not improbable that an Achaean Megalopolis would have been founded by Aratus.

J. B. Bury.

[1] *Federal Government*, 2nd ed., pp. 161–2.

THE TEXT OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

Part V

Aphrodite.

This Hymn, whether from the simplicity of its narrative or from accident, presents fewer textual difficulties than any of the four larger compositions. Serious corruptions there are none, and the notes it is necessary to write are occasioned rather by the misplaced activity of critics than by real obscurities in the tradition.

Literature since 1886 is confined to the contributions of A. Ludwich, *Rheinisches Museum* 1888, p. 566, and R. Peppmüller, *Philologus* 1889 p. 13 *sqq.* Accounts of the Goddess (which however do not bear materially on the Hymn) are given by Roscher in the first volume of his Lexicon, Tümpel in the new *Pauly-Wissowa*, vol. 1, and by Mr. Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, vol. 2.

13 *ποιῆσαι σάτινα καὶ ἅρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ.*

Barnes conjectured *σατίνας*, which has been accepted, for the two other places where the word occurs (Eur. *Hel.* 1326 *θηρῶν ὅτε ζυγίους | ζεύξασα θεὰ σατίνας* Anacreon fr. 21. 12 *νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων*) leave no doubt upon its gender or quantity. It is difficult to see what cause produced the omission of the sigma and the (presumable) prosody *σᾱτῑνα*. In the two passages just quoted there is no trace in any MS. of a neuter; Musgrave indeed corrected *σατίνας* from *σατίναν*, but *ζυγίους* makes the correction certain.

I have not kept Barnes' further suggestion *τε καὶ*, seeing that the passages in which *καὶ* preserves its length before a vowel, though a small minority, are sufficient to guarantee the usage when the MSS. present it. They are in the Hymns, the following:

1 *Dem.* 275 *ὣς εἰποῦσα θεὰ μέγεθος καὶ | εἶδος ἄμειψε*
2 *ib.* 424 *Πάλλας τ' ἐγρεμάχη καὶ | Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα*
3 *Ap.* 198 *ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη τε ἰδεῖν καὶ | εἶδος ἀγητή*
[*ib.* 203 *μαρμαρυγαί τε ποδῶν καὶ | εὐκλώστοιο χιτῶνος*]
[*ib.* 423 *καὶ Θρύον Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον καὶ | εὔκτιτον Αἶπυ*]

4 *Aphr.* 13 *ποιῆσαι σατίνα*[ς] *καὶ* | *ἅρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ*
5 *ib.* 82 *παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθος καὶ* | *εἶδος ὁμοίη*
[*τε καὶ p* plerique] cf. 1 and 3.
6 *ib.* 113 *γλῶσσαν δ' ὑμετέρην καὶ* | *ἡμετέρην σάφα οἶδα*
[contra *ib.* 116].
7 *Artemis* 27. 22 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ὑμέων καὶ* | *ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς*
8 *Diosc.* 33. 19 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ὑμέων καὶ* | *ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς*
[contra *Mus.* 25. 7, and *Hest.* 29. 14].

Ruhnken (on *Dem.* 274) endeavoured to make the insertion of *τε* absolute, but he is justly resisted by Ilgen on *Aphr.* 82. Variants on the point will be noticed at *Aphr.* 82, and in two slighter cases *Herm.* 289 *ἀλλ' ἄγε μὴ πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ὕπνον ἰάυῃς* (*τε* om. At D ed. pr.), Aphr. 85 *εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε καὶ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα* (*τε* om. N). Outside the Hymns Ilgen *l.c.* quotes Γ 392 *κάλλει τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν, οὐδέ κε φαίης* and *Theog.* 66 *μέλπονται πάντων τε νόμους καὶ ἤθεα κεδνά* to which I may add Z 211 *ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι*, where *τε* is omitted by 'H Cant. schol. Plat. Gorg. 449 A' etc., $Vat._{13}$ $Ven._{9.\ 13}$ A Mc, Z 478 *ὥδε βίην τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ Ἰλίου ἶφι ἀνάσσειν, βίην ἀγαθόν τε καὶ* many MSS. Λ 528 *κεῖσ' ἵππους τε καὶ ἅρμ' ἰθύνομεν, τε* om. 'L' and the rest of this family; O 492 *ἠδ' ὅτινας μινύθῃ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλησιν ἀμύνειν, τε* om. $L_{7\ 20}$. $Vat._{24}$ $Ven._{9}$; T 417 *μόρσιμόν ἐστι θεῷ τε καὶ ἀνέρι ἶφι δαμῆναι, τε* om. 'L Lips.' N_{1}, $Vat._{19,\ 23}$; Ω 574 *ἥρως αὐτομέδων ἠδ' ἄλκιμος*, for *ἠδ'* many MSS. have *τε καὶ*, *καὶ* alone is found in $Ven._{13}$, N_{1}, $M_{9,\ 10}$, $Vat._{6}$; Hes. *Opp.* 222 *ἣ δ' ἔπεται κλαίουσα πόλιν καὶ ἤθεα λαῶν* 'sic M 5 Vat. 2 V 2, al. *πόλιν τε καί*.'

52. *ὥς τε θεὰς ἀνέμιξε καταθνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις*. The correction of Schäfer, *συνέμιξε*, (contributed to Matthiae's edition 1805, praef. pp. vi, vii) is easy palaeographically, for to the examples Schäfer gave Demetrius' correction might have been added, *Herm.* 94 *φὰς συνέσευε* for *φασὶν ἔσευε*; but it is hard to see why if the MSS. preserve *συνέμιξε* v. 50 and *συνέμιξα* v. 250 they should not have done so here. The probability is therefore somewhat in favour of *ἀνέμιξε*, for which in a metaphorical sense sufficient parallels may be found in the Lexx.

59—63 = *θ* 363, 45, Ξ 169, 172. v. 63 *ἀμβροσίῳ ἑανῷ τό ῥά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν* corresponds literally to Ξ 172 except that in the *Iliad* we have *ἑδανῷ* for *ἑανῷ*. The distinction between *ἑᾱνός* subst. and *ἑᾱνὸς* adj., at which Ruhnken scoffed, is now firmly established; we have therefore the choice of making an unexampled synizesis of *ἑᾱνῷ* dissyll., or (with Samuel Clarke, and not either Barnes or Ruhnken, as it is wrongly stated in different editions) reading *ἑδανῷ* as in the *Iliad*; and the latter course is singularly recommended by the variant *ἑανῷ* on Ξ 172 which is found in Athenaeus 688 E, schol. Ξ 346 and Pap. Mus. Brit. DCCXXXII (A. S. Hunt, *Journ. of Phil.* xxvi. p. 48). We are to suppose that *ἑδανῷ*, an *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον*, was

mistaken by an early but unmetrical scribe or reader for the more familiar epic forms.

62 *ἀμβρότῳ οἷα θεοὺς ἐπενήνοθεν αἰὲν ἐόντας*
63 *ἀμβροσίῳ ἑανῷ τό ῥά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν.*

The theory of a double recension is no less dangerous than any other principle that is unsupported by direct MS. evidence: the lengths to which it can lead may be seen in Köchly's edition of Hesiod. As a provisional measure however it certainly tempts application in many cases, and is always preferable to the arbitrary and wasteful process of bracketing one line rather than another. Here of these two lines editors have inclined to cut out 63, on no other ground but that it is the second: Gemoll with much sense defends it. Similar pairs of lines of which either one or other is dispensable are, in this hymn 97 and 98, 136 and 136*a*, 274, 5 and 276, 7; *Apollo* 136–8 and 139, *Dion.* i. 4 and 6, 7, as previously noticed, and possibly *Artem.* ix. 8 and 9, *Aphr.* x. 4 and 4*a*, *Heracl.* xv. 5 and 5*a*.

91 *Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἷλεν ἔπος δέ μιν ἀντίον ηὔδα·*

Peppmüller *l.c.* with unnecessary subtlety would read *τάφος* for *δ' ἔρος* in this place. Apart from the marked absence of graphical support offered by the tradition, and the asyndeton involved in the alteration, it is surely better that the impression made on Anchises should be immediate. Aphrodite had arranged her appearance with especial regard to avoid any over great respect (vv. 82, 83), and the hero's address 92—106 is almost as much epic compliment as Odysseus' to Nausicaa. His afterthoughts (185, 6) are not to be too literally taken.

113 *sqq.* Mr. Tyrrell *l.c.* p. 48 remarks on the modernity of Aphrodite, who explains her knowledge of Anchises' language from her having had a Trojan *bonne*. However difficulties of language are recognised in ancient literature: cf. B 804 Δ 437 *Agamemnon* 1035.

136 *οὔ σφιν ἀεικελίη νυὸς ἔσσομαι ἀλλ' εἰκυῖα*
136*a* *εἴ τοι ἀεικελίη γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἠὲ καὶ οὐκί.*

Cf. on v. 62 above. Both of these lines stand in all the MSS.; either makes acceptable sense, together they are incompatible, while neither seems derivable from the other. We have therefore a fair case for assuming a double recension, and the instance is parallel to *Apoll.* 136–8 and 139. Compare also Hes. *Theog.* 590 and 591, 639–41 and 642.

172 *ἑσσαμένη δ' εὖ πάντα περὶ χροὶ δῖα θεάων*
ἕστη ἄρα κλισίῃ, εὐποιήτοιο μελάθρου
κῦρε κάρη, κάλλος δὲ παρειάων ἀπέλαμπεν.

This passage and 266 *sqq.* are the two syntactical difficulties of this poem. Here the meaning was long obscured by the faulty tradition of the verb in

174; Demetrius' correction *ἦρε* was accepted down to Ruhnken, (on *Dem.* 189) who restored the obviously correct *κῦρε* from M. Estienne invented *πὰρ* for *ἄρα*, and this was long believed to be the reading of one or more MSS. The local dative however needs no defence, and *κλισίῃ* is not 'bed' but 'hut.' 'She stood up in the hut and her head touched the roof' is the sense. There remains the asyndeton of 173, and this difficulty is real. The facile alteration *εὐποιήτου δὲ* (due to Ruhnken *l.c.*) is unsatisfactory since it does not suggest an adequate motive for the corruption; *μελάθρου* seems intangible and is guaranteed by *Dem.* 189. On the whole the asyndeton may be excusable if we make a longer pause after *κλισίῃ*. The case will be somewhat similar to 267.

179. *οἷον δή με τὸ πρῶτον.* Hermann would omit *τό*, and La Roche (*Hom. Studien* p. 40) *με*, to avoid the 'Attic correption'—but as the commentators point out without reason. Contrariwise *Artemis* ix. 8 *αὐτὰρ ἐγώ σε πρῶτα*, M inserts *τε* before *πρῶτα*.

198 *τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται οὔνεκα μ' αἰνόν*
ἔσχεν ἄχος ἕνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμπεσον εὐνῇ.

It is not surprising that commentators have doubted at *ἕνεκα* in 199, for if it be taken as a conjunction the poverty of expression is almost intolerable. At the same time no one will wish to substitute Gemoll's *ὅτε τε*, nor the attempts of his predecessors, *ἵνα κεν* (Barnes), *ἕνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἐμπεσὸν εὐνῆς* ('that came upon me on account etc.', the too ingenious method of Ilgen, approved by Matthiae), *ἔσχ' ἄχος οὔνεκ' ἄρα* (Hermann 'certa emendatione,' accepted by Franke), *ὅτι ῥα* (Abel). It has struck me that perhaps another asyndeton might be borne: 'his name shall be Aeneas for that a dreadful grief is come upon me—for a mortal man's sake *ἔμπεσον εὐνῇ*.' If this be thought too abrupt we must with Baumeister be content with the MS. reading.

224. *ξῦσαί τ' ἀπὸ γῆρας ὀλοιόν.* To I 446 quoted by everyone since Barnes we may add *Νόστοι* fr. 6. 2 *γῆρας ἀποξύσασ'*.

252 *νῦν δὲ δὴ οὐκέτι μοι στοναχήσεται ἐξονομῆναι*
τοῦτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν.

Martini's *στόμα χείσεται*, both picturesque and close to the MSS., has received fresh support by Mr. Tyrrell's advocacy (*l.c.* p. 33). Of the other suggestions Matthiae's *τλήσεται* is excluded by metre, as Tyrrell and Ludwich (*Rhein. Mus.* 1888 p. 566) remark, but Ludwich's own attempts *στόμα λήξεται* and *στόμ' ἀλώσεται ἐξονομῆναν* are not convincing: Buttmann's *ἀχήσεται*, while admirably near to the MSS., introduces a doubtful form. *Στόματ' ἔσσεται* (Clarke), *στόμα χήσεται, πείσεται, λήσεται* (Ilgen), *χήσεται* (Buttmann, Franke), *ἥσεται* (Agar), have pleased their authors.

254 *ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀάσθην*
σχέτλιον οὐκ ὀνοτατον, ἀπεπλάγχθην δὲ νόοιο.

Martini's *ὀνομαστόν* has been accepted without question, owing doubtless to the familiarity of the phrase *οὐκ ὀνομαστόν*. The Homeric usage however confines itself to the phrase *κακοίλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστὴν* thrice repeated, where the meaning is literally that the ill-omened word Ἴλιος is not to be pronounced. In Hes. *Theog.* 148 *τρεῖς παῖδες μεγάλοι καὶ ὄβριμοι οὐκ ὀνομαστοί* | Κόττος *τε* Βρίαρεώς *τε* Γύγης *θ'*, the sense of literal 'naming' is the same: fr. 44. 7, *εἶχε δὲ δῶρα* | *παντοῖ'*, *οὐκ ὀνομαστά*, 'countless.' The sense of 'unmentionable, horrible' does not occur till Apollonius iii. 801 *πρὶν τάδε λωβήεντα καὶ οὐκ ὀνομαστὰ τελέσσαι.*

Now *ὀνότατα* is plainly a clerical error for *ὀνοταστά*; the omission or insertion of *σ* in these quasi-participles is universal, *e.g.* 123 *ἄκτιστον* for *ἄκτιτον*, *Herm.* 80 *θαυμαστά*, *θαυματά*, B 592 *εὔκτιτον*, *εὔκτιστον* etc. Ὀνοτάζω is a word which occurs only in the *Hymn to Hermes* 30 *σύμβολον ἤδη μοι μέγ' ὀνήσιμον οὐκ ὀνοτάζω* and in Hesiod *Opp.* 258 *σκολιῶς ὀνοτάζων*, therefore is appropriate in the vocabulary of such a document as this. I would therefore be content with *οὐκ ὀνοταστόν* 'not to be made light of,' in the sense of the familiar *ἔνθα κεν οὐκέτι ἔργον ἀνὴρ ὀνόσαιτο μετελθών* and many similar phrases in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the participle *ὀνοστά* I 164. Aphrodite is not without a certain sense of the effect that her *ἄτη* will produce in Olympus.

It should be noticed also that *ὀνομαστὰ* is made somewhat less probable by the nearness of *ἐξονομῆναι* in 252. I see on examining the edition of Samuel Clarke (1729) that *ὀνοταστά* is recommended, though not put in the text. I am glad of the coincidence. Clarke compares *ε* 379.

264 *τῇσι δ' ἅμ' ἢ ἐλάται ἠὲ δρύες ὑψικάρηνοι*
γεινομένῃσιν ἔφυσαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανείρῃ,
καλαὶ τηλεθάουσαι ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν
ἑστᾶσ' ἠλίβατοι τεμένη δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν
ἀθανάτων.

The arrangement and correction of these lines have given trouble to modern editors. Matthiae and Hermann cut out one or more, to avoid the asyndeton of 267; Gemoll with the same object inserted *δ'* after *ἐν* in 266. Franke however decided that all the lines were necessary to the description, and made a stop at *ὑψηλοῖσιν*. By this arrangement, which will probably commend itself to modern readers, the abruptness of v. 267 is to some extent excused by the parenthesis which opens there. Ἠλίβατοι 267 of trees is certainly an extension of Homeric usage, but is sufficiently warranted by Hes. *Theog.* 483 *ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠλιβάτῳ*, 675 *πέτρας ἠλιβάτους στιβαρῇς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες*, *Scut. Her.* 421 *ἢ ὅτε πέτρη* [*πεύκη* 'M 3'] *ἠλίβατος* with Rzach's note. Not more violent is the use of *δυσηλεγέες* of frosts *Opp.* 506.

274. It cannot be denied that *πρῶτον* in 278 together with *αὐτίκα* following in 280 makes 274, 5 incompatible with 276, 7. It is evident that on the first occasion that Anchises sees the boy he is to acknowledge him, and therefore of the two presentations one must exclude the other. These considerations afford some ground for holding 274, 5 and 276, 7 alternatives, *i.e.* remains of different versions.

283 *τῷ δὲ σὺ μυθεῖσθαι μεμνημένος ὥς σε κελεύω.*
φασίν τοι νύμφης καλυκώπιδος ἔκγονον εἶναι κ.τ.λ.

By Matthiae's absurd conjecture *φάσθαι*, in 284, bolstered up by irrelevant quotations, a great deal of humour is lost. The necessary imperative is conveyed by *μυθεῖσθαι* 283 : at 284 commences the statement which the hero is instructed to make. The excellent Anchises, *homme à bonnes fortunes*, cannot be supposed to remember his conquests, but with a delightful fatuity he does not disclaim his paternity : *φασίν τοι νύμφης κ.τ.λ.* The spirit is the same as in the familiar lines *α* 215 *μήτηρ μέν τέ μέ φησι τοῦ ἔμμεναι αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε | οὐκ οἶδ', οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἑὸν γόνον αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω*, the merit of which was recognised by Aristophanes. Cf. also *δ* 387.

VII. Dionysus.

See Crusius, *Philologus* 1889 vol. 2 pp. 193—228.

41 *οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες*
μὴ δ' ἤδη (-ειν κρ) τότ' ἔπειτα κυβερνήτην ἐκέλευον
γῇ πελάαν·

If we compare *Apoll.* 393 *ἠμαθόην* of all MSS. for what is generally accepted as original *νῆα θοήν*, we may suppose *μὴ δ' ἤδη* here to represent ΝΗΔΗΔΗ, ΝΗλΗΔΗ, *i.e. νῆ' ἤδη*. The suggestion is Hermann's, the older editors down to Matthiae had taken *μηδείδην* seriously as a patronymic. Little is gained by Köchly's *νῆα πάλιν* or Gemoll's *νηπιέῃ*.

55 *θάρσει δῖε κάτωρ τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμενε θυμῷ.*

Here I must confess to absolute impotence. Professor Ridgeway (*Journ. of Philology* 1888 p. 113) maintains *κάτωρ* and derives it. The conjectures are mere midsummer madness,—*πάτωρ* (quoted by Estienne 'in quibusdam editionibus'), *κράτωρ* ap. Barnes, *ἄκτωρ* (Ilgen), *ἐλατήρ* (Wolf), *ἴκτωρ* and *ἀκάτωρ* (Baumeister : *ἀκάτωρ* from *ἄκατος* gives at least a sense) ; *φίλε πάτερ* (Köchly) which raises the just wrath of Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* p. 386 ; *θάρσει μηδέτι τάρβει* (Gemoll), *θάρσει ἰθύντωρ* (Peppmüller, *Philologus* 1889, p. 22). The termination *-ωρ* is used so sparingly in Greek to form agents, that it is useless to look for nouns derived from any stem such as *κατ-*, or *ἑκάς* or *ἑκατόν*, which are suggested by M.'s reading *ἑκάτωρ*.

On the other hand the word may possibly be a proper name, and the survival in M be a short form of such a name as *ἑκατήνωρ*, Fick *Personennamen* p. 107. In the version followed by Ovid and Hyginus the steersman is called Acoetes.

XIX. Pan.

This poem of forty-nine lines has had the advantage of being thoroughly discussed by A. Ludwich, *Rhein. Mus.* 1887 pp. 547 *sqq.* and R. Peppmüller, *Philologus* 1889 vol. 2 p. 1 *sqq.* It may easily be imagined that the third comer has not much to glean. I pass by a certain number of alterations which possibly neither learned critic would press to-day, and attack the essential points.

9 *ἄλλοτε μὲν ῥείθροισιν ἐφελκόμενος μαλακοῖσιν.* The tradition is sound, certainly; we do not require *ἐφεζόμενος* (Baumeister) nor *ἐφαλλόμενος* (Ludwich), but it may be doubted if the sense 'attracted' applies. Surely a physical notion is more suited to the ungainly god: a semi-humorous term for floating—'hauled, towed,' appears more appropriate. This is suggested by A. Matthiae. It is doubtful if *ῥεῖθρον* ever really means a bank.

14 · *τότε δ' ἕσπερος ἔκλαγεν οἷον*
ἄκρης ἐξανιών·

Οἷον has puzzled the critics and produced a crop of alterations from Martini's *ἔξαγεν οἷας* to Ludwich's *ἔκλαγεν οἶμην* or *ὕμνον*. Hermann read *οἷος*, but that Pan has company is expressly stated v. 19. The key is given by Hes. *Theog.* 26 *ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἷον.* This Peppmüller recognises, though he spoils his effect by the unfortunate alterations *ὅτε δ' ἕσπερος ἢ κλάγεν οἷον.* Οἷον = *μόνον* occurs Aesch. *Agam.* 136 *οἷον μή τις ἄγα θεοθέν κνεφάσῃ* where the scholiast glosses it *μόνον μή*; I 355 *ἔνθά ποτ' οἷον ἔμιμνε* as Eustathius takes it, and often in Apollonius, ii. 634, iii. 1109, iv. 652, 1077, 1316. Theocr. xxv. 199. Τοτὲ for *τότε* (as in 22, and cf. Ω 11) would improve the sense, which then is 'he often coursed over the hills and often chased the beasts in the glades; and again would he sing, only of an evening, coming back (up) from the chase.' Pan being a sportsman waits till the day is over to begin his music. Pierson's correction *ἄγρης* for *ἄκρης* is generally accepted; cf. Theocr. i. 16 *ἀπ' ἄγρας | τανίκα κεκμακὼς ἀμπαύεται* of Pan, xxv. 87 *ἐκ βοτάνης ἀνίοντα* of sheep, Apollonius ii. 938 *ἄγρηθεν ὅτ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβαίνῃ* of Artemis, iii. 69 *θήρης ἐξανιὼν* of Jason.

18 *θρῆνον ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν.*

The conjectures are very indecisive, for putting aside *ἐπιπροιεῖσα χέει* and *ἐπιπροχέουσα ἴει* as violent, Ilgen's *ἀχέει*, Ruhnken's *ἰαχεῖ* and Gemoll's *ἠχέει* are much of a muchness. The MS. reading is certainly hard

to swallow, but I have a secret suspicion that it is what the poet gave. Would a somewhat poor writer not find justification in phrases like *χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν* γ 258, *χοὴν χεόμην* λ 26, *χεέι πολυηχέα φωνήν* τ 521, *βοὸς δ' ἀπέδυνε βοείην* χ 364, *ἐς δ' ἀγορὴν ἀγέροντ'* Apollonius iv. 214, *προρέειν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ* *h. Apoll.* 380?

20 *φοιτῶσαι πύκνα ποσσὶν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ μελανύδρῳ*

I hesitate to alter *πύκνα* into *πύκα* with Ludwich after Barnes (*l.c.* 551). Granted that the change is slight (cf. Quintus xii. 219 where *πυκινὰ* and *πύκα* are variants on *πυκνὰ*) the quantity of *-κν-* is too often short in the second syllable of the _ ⏑ ⏑ to forbid us to allow it in a poem of the uncertain age of this hymn. Cf. Theocr. xiv. 23 *καὶ λύχνον ἅψας*, xvi. 49 *ἀπὸ χροιᾶς κύκνον ἔγνω*, Theognis 910 *καὶ δάκνομαι ψυχήν*, *Anth. Pal.* v. 133. 3 *ὁ σοφὸς κύκνος*: Quintus iv. 153 *ὡς κύκνον ἔκτανε*, v. 374 *οἵ οἱ τέκνα δηώσωνται*; cf. also Aristophanes *Clouds* 384 and 406 *πυκνότητα* in anapaests, *Knights* 739 *σαυτὸν δὲ λυχνοπώλαισι*. Pseudophocyl. 158 *εἰ δέ τις οὐ δεδάηκε τέχνην*.

22 *δαίμων δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα χυρῶν τοτὲ δ' ἐς μέσον ἕρπων*
πυκνὰ ποσὶν διέπει·

Köchly's *θορὼν* is too violent even for the awkward movements of Pan, and is justly rejected by Ludwich after Franke. Pan is now outside, on either side, of the ring, now inside it. The plural, to which Ludwich objects, surely contains no difficulty: we can as well say 'the dances' as 'the dance', compare *Artemis* xxvii. 15 with 18.

33 *θάλε γὰρ πόθος ὑγρὸς ἐπελθών.*

Ruhnken first disturbed *θάλε*, which had satisfied the earlier readers, by turning it into *λάθε*, a conjecture which from its false air of graphical facility, has reigned in most editions since. Ilgen and Hermann kept the original, but the impulse once given produced *δάκε*, *λάβε*, *κέλε*, and Ludwich and Peppmüller are at one over *ἔλε*. *Λάθε* introduces a refinement foreign to the extremely simple psychology of Pan, and the other suggestions lack palaeographical probability: 'desire imperceptibly came upon him' is hardly like Pan; 'the desire came upon him hot' is quite in character. For *θάλλειν* in this sense cf. Soph. *Philoctetes* 259 and other tragic examples in the Lexx.

XXIII.—Zeus.

2. *θέμιτι*; corr. Barnes *θέμιστι*. The MS. reading as Gemoll observes is curious; it is quoted by schol. Pind. *Ol.* xi. 28 as the reading in O 87, but the MSS. give it no support, unless *θέμιδι* Vat._{18} be considered as such (*θέμιδος* also in 'J' *β* 68). At Υ 4 and *h. Ares* viii. 4, there are no variants.

XXIV.—Hestia.

4. *ἔρχεο τόνδ' ἀνὰ οἶκον ἐπέρχεο θυμὸν ἔχουσα*
σὺν Διὶ μητιόεντι·

Either *θυμὸν* must be sacrificed (as Schneidewin with *εὐμενέουσα*, to support which one might bring Γ 411 *πορσανέχουσα* $L_{10, 19}$ $Vat._{27}$, *γρ.* $Ven._{10}$ for *πορσανέουσα*, H 342 *ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσα* and *ἔχουσα*), or one must suppose a lacuna containing an epithet of *θυμόν*, (cf. *Dem.* 360, 1 *Aphrod.* 102, *Dion.* vii. 49), and to this I incline. The repetition *ἔρχεο—ἐπέρχεο* is singular, but perhaps forcible, cf. Soph. *Electra*, 850 *κἀγὼ τοῦδ' ἵστωρ ὑπερίστωρ*, Ar. *Frogs*, 369 *τούτοις αὐδῶ καὐθις ἀπαυδῶ*, *Anth. Pal.* v. 161, 3 *οἴχομ', ἔρωτες, ὄλωλα διοίχομαι*, and contrariwise Quintus ii. 314 *ἀλλ' ἀναχάζεο τῆλε μόθου στυγεροῦ τε φόνοιο | χάζεο μή σε βάλοιμι κ.τ.λ.*

XXVI.—Dionysus.

12. *δὸς δ'ἡμῖς χαίροντας ἐς ὥρας αὖτις ἱκέσθαι*
ἐκ δ'αὖθ' ὡράων εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς.

These expressions which have troubled the commentators (Matthiae and Franke bracket 13) have probably a general significance and no reference to feasts or seasons, cf. Aristophanes *Clouds* 562, *Thesm.* 950, *Frogs* 381 Theocr. xv. 74. It was a popular formula conveying length of life or vague futurity.

XXIX.—Hestia.

9 *sqq.* After proposing in the Oxford text a somewhat more elaborate arrangement, I have come round to Martini's transposition of v. 9 to after v. 11. Although this displacement is unmotived palaeographically, it seems necessary since the plural *ναίετε*, v. 9 can hardly follow the singular *ἄγγελε*, v. 8. A comma must be placed after *εἰδότες*, and *θ'*, coming rather late, connects the whole sentence.

XXXII.—Selene.

Roscher, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1889, pp. 397 *sqq.*

1. *Μήνην ἀείδειν ταυσίπτερον ἕσπετε Μοῦσαι.* Ἀείδειν and *ἕσπετε* are incompatible; of the two *ἀείδειν* certainly seems the sounder. Possibly the writer mistook the meaning of *ἕσπετε*, and thought it meant 'begin,' or 'follow.'

XXXIII.—Dioscuri.

15. *κύματα δ'ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν*
ναύταις σήματα καλὰ πόνου σφίσιν·

The older editions, down to Franke inclusive, put a comma after *ναύταις*, and treated *σήματα...σφίσιν* as a clause by itself. Baumeister (after

D'Orville and Matthiae had suspected *πόνου*) was dissatisfied with the repetition of *σφίσιν* after *ναύταις*, and joined *σήματα καλὰ* with what precedes: *σφίσιν* then became corrupt, and in its place Baumeister proposed *κρίσιν*, Abel *λύσιν*, Tyrrell *σχίσιν*, and I *σβέσιν*. All these are evidently useless stopgaps, and failing some more convincing emendation of *πονουσφισιν* it seems probable we should go back to the old stopping, which may not have been intolerable to the poet.

T. W. Allen.

THE GREEKS AT PLATAIAI.

For the future any discussion of the problems connected with the Battle of Plataiai must take into account Mr. Grundy's careful survey of the field. In the map that accompanies his monograph we have at last reached finality.[1] The satisfaction of this supreme requirement is his best contribution to the subject. His application of strategical principles to the narrative of Herodotos [2] is only partial; and his result is not clear, because he has tried to realize the apocryphal portions of the ancient account. It is only after stripping off the husk of romantic accretion that we can proceed to examine the details by the light of military principles. It is such preliminary work and such subsequent recasting of the narrative that is here attempted.[3]

Mr. Grundy hits the truth when he suggests that Herodotos obtained his information about the operations from an intelligent, but not highly placed, officer. Further, Herodotos himself was not primarily a military historian. His narrative therefore treats merely subordinate and intermediate steps as final ends; and while events are thus viewed only from the outside their presentation is moulded by the epic cast of the writer's genius. Of perhaps still greater moment is his strong Athenian bias. In the recognition of these three factors,—the epic character of the narrative, ignorance of the true strategical issues of the situation on the part of his informant, and the contamination produced by the sympathy of Herodotos with, or his sole reliance upon, the Athenian tradition,—we hold the key to the entire account of the campaign of 479 B.C. Some of the details may have been derived from Thersander of Orchomenos, *e.g.* the Phokian episode.[4] It is also possible that Herodotos incorporated in his history local stories of the battle. Specimens of these may perhaps be seen in the description of the charger of Masistios,[5] and of the spoil taken from the Persian camp: [6] the three stories which represent the Aiginetans in so poor a light [7] were

[1] See the *Battle of Plataea*, by G. B. Grundy; published among the Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society, 1894.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 43 fol.

[3] I find from Holm's *Grk. Hist.* ii. 75 (E.T.) that Delbrück 'explains the movements of both armies on the basis of correct military principles.' I have not seen Delbrück's book.

[4] ix. 16 fol.

[5] ix. 20.

[6] ix. 80 fol. cf. c. 83.

[7] ix. 78 fol., Lampon of Aigina urges Pausanias to maltreat the body of Mardonios: c. 80, Aiginetans buy golden spoil from Helots on pretence that it is brass: c. 85, pretended tomb of Aiginetans at Plataiai.

perhaps also current at Plataiai. The contents of chaps. 71, 72, 76 probably come from a purely Spartan source.[1] Not one of these supplements to the

Modern carriage road shown thus ═══ *Modern tracks coincident with those used in ancient times, thus* ┈┈┈

I. First position of the Greeks. II. Second position of the Greeks. III. Third position of Centre.

THE BATTLE-FIELD OF PLATAIAI.
[Based on Mr. Grundy's Survey.]

Attic core of the narrative has any bearing upon the operations preceding the battle.

[1] Relating the fate of Amompharetos, Aristodemos, Kallikrates, etc. and the rescue of the concubine of Pharandates.

The operations of the campaign resolve themselves into three strategic movements :—

(1) The occupation of the lines on the slope of Mount Kithairon (cc. 19–24).

(2) The advance to the Spring Gargaphia and the River Asopos (cc. 25–49).

(3) The retrograde movement to the 'Island' (cc. 50–70).

The key to these manoeuvres lies in the consideration of the roads running northwards across Mount Kithairon to the Boiotian capital. These roads and passes are clearly described by Mr. Grundy.[1]

(1) In the east there is the road running through the pass of Dryoskephalai, familiar to all who have travelled from Athens to Thebes by diligence. It enters the range under the walls of Eleutherai, and debouches upon the plain just to the east of the modern village of *Kriekúki*.[2] The point at which it enters the plain marks the probable site of Erythrai.[3]

(2) The central road from Athens to Plataiai, with a branch to the right passing through Hysiai, the site of which, in the main, is occupied by *Kriekúki*.[4]

(3) The western road and pass, from Megara to Plataiai.

(4) Lastly, a road running from Plataiai to Thebes.[5] This road probably, and the main Dryoskephalai road certainly, crossed the Asopos by a bridge.

On the eastern road lay the entrenched camp of the Persians, and the main body of their army, barring all advance northwards. The exact situation of the camp is a matter of no importance. It probably occupied the bend of the Asopos, lying on the north bank, quite close to the bridge, the retention of which was of the utmost moment to the Persians. Their cavalry must have lain mainly on the south bank. The disposition of the Persians was admirable, posted as they were behind a by no means contemptible river in a strongly entrenched camp, covering their communications with a well-provisioned base.

Mr. Grundy's description of the first position of the Greeks is probably quite correct.[6] They advanced over Mount Kithairon, their objective being

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[1] P. 5 fol. Cf. Leake, *North. Gr.* ii. 334 and map.

[2] But modern traffic now follows the loop to the left, which actually passes through *Kriekúki*.

[3] See Grundy, pp. 6, 9.

[4] Grundy, p. 15.

[5] Mentioned in Thuc. iii. 24, a passage to be discussed later.

[6] And is an improvement upon the generally received view, in which Hysiai is put at *Kriekúki* or E. of it, and Erythrai still further E. Grundy, p. 11 fol

Thebes. As their point of departure was Eleusis,[1] the allies must have traversed the easy Dryoskephalai pass. On finding the Persians confronting them they threw themselves in extended order across the Athens-Thebes road, thus covering their own communications with the Peloponnese and taking up a favourable position for defence. For as yet it was quite an open question whether Mardonios would not advance to the attack: the veriest tiro could not have construed the Persian withdrawal from Attica as a confession of inferiority. The Greek right rested on the steep slopes of Mount Kithairon: the centre and left seem to have been thrown forward somewhat,—probably in order to take advantage of the wells and conveniences of the village of Erythrai.

The success of the Greeks in dealing with the Persian cavalry[2] was so pronounced that Pausanias was encouraged to make a change of position.[3] The inaction of the hostile infantry also contributed to this resolution. Of greater influence than either of these reasons was the reflection that for the Greeks to remain passive was to play the Persian game. The masterly inactivity of Mardonios forced Pausanias to attempt a daring *coup*. It was at least better to die free men on a well-fought field than to survive the consciousness that the liberties of Greece had been betrayed by sitting still.[4]

The movement contemplated by the Greek commander involved two serious drawbacks. The hold upon the main road through the range of Kithairon was relinquished, and a descent was made into ground more practicable for the enemy's cavalry. Herodotos does not furnish any satisfactory answer to the inquiry as to how Pausanias justified his evacuation of the impregnable lines of Mount Kithairon. According to the historian, the change was suggested solely by convenience of ground,[5]—the particular convenience not being revealed, with the exception of the more abundant water-supply, which was confessedly only one of several advantages. The ultimate design of Pausanias in descending from the heights must be given by modern conjecture.

What then was the second position of the Greek army?

If we read aright the intentions of Pausanias we can put our finger on the line. It involved a descent (*ἐπικαταβῆναι*), and a movement into the territory of Plataiai (*ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν*). It lay, therefore, N.W. of the first position. It was reached *via* the foot-hills of Mount Kithairon and the village of Hysiai (*διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιάς*). The goal of the advance lay consequently in the neighbourhood of the Asopos, as is clear from the subsequent history. Further than this, two points on the line

[1] ix. 19: *συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἐρυθράς.*

[2] ix. 22 fol.: death of Masistios and repulse of the cavalry.

[3] ix. 25: *ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς.*

[4] Here must be noticed the strange, but in my opinion quite true, tale of Plutarch relative to the Athenian conspiracy frustrated by Aristeides (c. 13). I cannot follow Holm (*Grk. Hist.* ii. 113) in regarding it as 'altogether improbable.' On the contrary it is all of a piece with the conduct of the Athenians during the campaign.

[5] ix. 25: *ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεώτερος . . . τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος,*

are expressly named, *viz.* the Spring Gargaphia and the τέμενος of the hero Androkrates.

Let us take first the Spring Gargaphia.

Among the low hills on the north of Mount Kithairon there are, according to Mr. Grundy [1], two springs, and only two, that can put forward a claim to the ancient name. The area of the battle-field is marked by a distinct depression, which runs from N.E. to S.W. up the *Kriekúki* brook to the bottom of the village, and from that point N.W. to the head-waters of the most westerly tributary of the Asopos (stream A^1 in Mr. Grundy's map): there it joins the plain, which extends northwards from Plataiai. The two springs lie on the line of this depression. The traditional Gargaphia is the more westerly of the two, *i.e.* the modern *Apotripi*, which lies nearly on the verge of the plateau, about a quarter of a mile before the *Kriekúki-Pyrgos* path enters the aforesaid plain. Measured upon Mr. Grundy's map, the distance of this spring from Plataiai is 12 stades. The other spring, or collection of springs, is found at some distance (on Mr. Grundy's map, 5 stades) *east* of *Apotripi*. Mr. Grundy follows Leake in giving the name Gargaphia to these last sources.[2] They lie 14 stades from Plataiai.

What data do we get from Herodotos as to the position of the Spring Gargaphia? He gives us the following items:—

(1) It was 10 stades from the 'Island' (c. 51).

(2) It was 20 stades from the Heraion, which was 'in front of' Plataiai (c. 52).

(3) By implication we learn that it must have been about 10 stades from the stream called Moloeis, the Argiopian Region, and the temple of Eleusinian Demeter (c. 57).

With regard to the identification of the 'Island,' it will probably be generally conceded that Mr. Grundy has made out his case, and satisfactorily established the locality to which this name was applied.[3] More valuable, however, is his identification of the temple of Demeter.[4] No one can doubt that its place is marked by the modern Church of St. Demetrios. Only with respect to the temple of Hera is hesitation unfortunately possible.

How do the springs above described square with the data extracted from Herodotos?

(1) Measurement shows that the distance of the spring *Apotripi* from the 'Island,' as identified by Mr. Grundy, agrees more

[1] P. 16. Cf. Leake, *North. Gr.* ii. 332 fol.

[2] P. 16. Leake, *North. Gr.* ii. 333. Mr. Grundy states that this spring is 16 stades rom Plataiai. Comparing this with the 12 stades of *Apotripi* he writes,—'It is easy to imagine that a mistake of 4 stades was made in a measurement of the distance by the eye alone: it is not so easy to suppose that the error amounted to 8 stades in a calculated distance of 20.' Correcting the measurement as above the error comes to a choice between 6 and 8 stades,—an immaterial difference. Be it remembered also that the point to which the measurement is taken (the temple of Hera) is not yet established.

[3] P. 27.

[4] P. 33.

closely with the statement of Herodotos than does that of his Gargaphia. At 10 stades from *Apotripi* we are in the centre of the Nesos; whereas, measuring from Leake's (and Mr. Grundy's) Gargaphia, we reach a point too far up the slope of Mount Kithairon, or else actually find ourselves outside the limits of the Nesos, in the direction of the town of Plataiai.

(2) The uncertainty with respect to the situation of the Heraion renders an appeal to measurement here delusive. So far as it goes, the result seems to point to an exaggeration of the distance on the part of Herodotos.

(3) Comparison of the interval separating the two springs from the Eleusinion is decisive against the claims of the well to which Leake and Mr. Grundy give the name of Gargaphia. Measuring from the *Apotripi* spring, 9½ stades bring us to the Chapel of St. Demetrios, 10 stades to the stream flowing along the S.E. side of the ridge on which that building stands.[1] On the other hand, measuring from Leake's Gargaphia, the Chapel and stream lie at a distance of only 4½ and 5 stades respectively.[2] Yet Mr. Grundy accepts the above-mentioned stream as the ancient Moloeis and the scene of the final struggle.

We now turn to consider the position of the monument of the hero Androkrates.

Here we can supplement Herodotos in some slight degree from Thucydides.[3] The 212 men who escaped from Plataiai during its investment in 428 B.C. ran at first '6 or 7 stades along the road leading to Thebes, having on their right hand the heroön of Androkrates': subsequently they turned off to the right and fled in the direction of Mount Kithairon, towards Hysiai and Erythrai. We notice that whereas Herodotos speaks of a *τέμενος*, or enclosed domain, Thucydides calls it a *ἡρῷον*, or monumental chapel. It must have been a building standing in the midst of a sacred enclosure, which was probably planted with trees. That this was indeed the case we learn from Plutarch, who describes the heroön of Androkrates as 'surrounded with a dense grove of shady trees.'[4]

Few can have read the passage in Thucydides without having been struck by the apparent pointlessness of his remark as to the position of the

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[1] Stream A5 on Mr. Grundy's map.

[2] Yet Mr. Grundy writes (p. 33): 'It will be seen on the map that the distance from the position of the Spartans near the spring which Leake (rightly, I think, as I have previously said) identifies with Gargaphia, accords closely with the distance given by Herodotus.'

[3] Thuc. iii. 24: *οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἐχώρουν ἀθρόοι τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον. . . . καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ σταδίους οἱ Πλαταιῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐχώρησαν, ἔπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες ᾖεσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἐς Ἐρύθρας καὶ Ὑσιὰς καὶ λαβόμενοι τῶν ὀρῶν διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.* Grundy (p. 10 fol.) quite accurately gives the route followed by the fugitives.

[4] Plut. *Arist.* xi.: *τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον . . ἄλσει πυκνῶν καὶ συσκίων δένδρων περιεχόμενον.*

monument in question. For if the heroön lay hard by the road, constituting a familiar landmark, it was surely needless to insist upon its relation to travellers advancing along that road in the direction of Thebes. A closer examination, however, removes this seeming pointlessness. In addition to the regular high road from Plataiai to Thebes (4), a man might cross the low hills in a N.E. direction[1] and so strike either the road that issued from the pass of Hysiai (2), or the main road from Athens (1) issuing from the pass of Erythrai (Dryoskephalai). The remark of Thucydides, that the heroön stood on the right hand of the fugitives, thus turns out to possess considerable value.[2] It fixes their point of exit from the town to the *northern* section of the enclosing lines, and the route of flight to a *northerly* direction, thus indirectly eliminating the possibility indicated above,—that the exit was made on the N.E. of the town and the line of flight continued towards the same point of the compass. The corollary from this is that the site of the monument should be sought between the line of the Plataiai-Thebes road and the line of the path that runs to the north-east: in other words, it is an entire mistake to imagine that the heroön lay *quite close to the Plataiai-Thebes road, i.e.* in the plain itself.

In addition to the passage from Thucydides, we are able to adduce one from Plutarch. It is true that, as history, Plutarch's account of the campaign is of small value. Nevertheless, the circumstance that Plutarch was a Boiotian, and the probability that he knew the ground, combine to give some importance to the few topographical details preserved in his *Life of Aristeides*. It is only by the adoption of a foregone conclusion that his testimony is brought into conflict with that of Thucydides. We refuse to subscribe to the verdict of Mr. Grundy[3] when he declares that 'one has to stretch the language of Plutarch until it cracks in order to reconcile his topography with that of Thucydides.'

In describing the movement of the allied army to its second position,

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[1] In other words, taking the path chosen by the Corinthians in their march from the Heraion to the scene of action, as related in Herod. ix. 69: διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος. Such would not of course be the usual path from Plataiai to Thebes, but it might well have been followed by the fugitives, whose objective was not Thebes, as it had the advantage of bringing them nearer the passes into Attica while avoiding the obviously dangerous route along the base of Kithairon.

[2] The words ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον are inserted for no other purpose than to define exactly the preceding phrase τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὁδόν,—a phrase which was equally applicable to the alternative path mentioned by me. It is ordinarily assumed that the fugitives *passed* the monument in question. For this opinion I can see no warrant, and I must refuse to acknowledge with Mr. Grundy, that 'it is evident that Thucydides understood the Ἡρῷον to be less than three-quarters of a mile from Plataea.' The outcome of this assumption is Mr. Grundy's hypothesis of a triple phase of the Greek second position. All that Thucydides says, is that the fleeing Plataians ran about a mile along that road to Thebes which lay to the left, or west, of the monument: that they actually passed the monument is nowhere stated.

[3] P. 35 *note*. An example of wrong method adopted by Mr. Grundy from Leake, *North. Gr.* ii. 354, a passage which Mr. Grundy quotes with approval. Mr. Grundy makes much of Plutarch's failure to mention the νῆσος. It will be seen that Plutarch is in the right: the situation of the νῆσος is of no moment, as we might guess from the fact that not one of the Greek contingents ever reached it.

Plutarch writes as follows,—'near Hysiai, at the foot of Kithairon, there is an ancient temple of Demeter and Kore, and there hard by was also the heroön of Androkrates.[1]' The natural inference from this is that Plutarch imagined the Eleusinion and the heroön to have been fairly close together. Compare this with what Herodotos tells us about the enclosure of Androkrates[2],—'and there they ranged themselves, nation by nation, close by the fountain Gargaphia and the sacred precinct of the hero Androkrates, partly among hills of no great elevation, and partly upon level ground.' What is there in this to support the double assumption on the part of Mr. Grundy[3] that Herodotos meant to give us the *two extremes* of the Greek line, and to indicate at the same time that the spring lay among the hills while the monument stood in the plain, *i.e.* on the left wing? The conclusion to which both Herodotos and Plutarch point is that the heroön of Androkrates and the Spring Gargaphia stood (within reasonable limits) in the same area.[4] What this area was we have already ascertained for the spring. What it was for the heroön we have already deduced from the words of Thucydides. The two streams of evidence guide us to one and the same point for the site of heroön and τέμενος. That site is marked by the modern Chapel of St. John crowning the height which rises immediately to the north of the *Apotripi* (Gargaphia) spring.[5]

What then do we conclude as to the second position of the Greeks? It occupied the depression which Mr. Grundy describes[6] as running across the battle-field roughly from east to west. Here the allies had the advantage of a supply of water in the *Apotripi* (Gargaphia) spring,—the sources farther to the east would obviously also be in their hands; they were screened from the observation of the Persian main body; they were also protected from the cavalry as well as was possible anywhere off the actual slopes of Mount Kithairon.[7] The Greek outposts would occupy the heights to the north of

[1] Plut. *Arist.* xi.: τῶν Ὑσιῶν πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πάνυ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσαγορευομένης . . . . Αὐτοῦ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον ἐγγύς, ἄλσει πυκνῶν καὶ συσκίων δένδρων περιεχόμενον.

[2] Herod. ix. 25: ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατ' ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χωρίου.

[3] P. 36 *note*: 'I think that the words of Herodotus . . . can only mean that the τέμενος was on the left of the Greek line, for the ἀπέδος χῶρος can only be the plain between Plataea and the Thespian Asopus, on which, by-the-bye, according to Thucydides the τέμενος must have stood.' Cf. p. 17: 'the τέμενος of the hero Androcrates, which Herodotus tells us was the other extremity of the line, *i.e.*, on the left wing.' The same assumption is made by Stein (*note in loc.*) and Grote, (*Hist.* v. 19 *note* 2), but is rightly combated by Mr. Hunt (*Amer. Journ. of Arch.* vol. vi. 471).

[4] The same conclusion seems to follow from Paus. ix. 4, 2, where the Temple of Eleusinian Demeter, the μνῆμα of Leïtos and the Spring Gargaphia are apparently grouped together as contiguous to one another. We may note here that Mr. Grundy is altogether wrong in imagining (p. 34) the temple of Demeter here spoken of by Pausanias to be different from that mentioned by Herodotos in his account of the battle.

[5] Taking into consideration what is told us of the heroön by Plutarch in the passage already quoted, I see in the modern name *Platáni* (=Plane tree), borne by the locality indicated, a traditional survival of the old Hellenic τέμενος. See Leake's map. The huts round the chapel have apparently disappeared, but the memory of the name remains.

[6] P. 2.

[7] The description of the position and its advantages, as given in Diod. xi. 30, 5 (ἦν γὰρ

the position, *viz.* the height on which the heroön stood, and the eminence lying to the east, between the heroön and the temple of Demeter.

The object aimed at by Pausanias in removing from Mount Kithairon is rightly stated by Mr. Grundy.[1] The Greeks tried to effect a great turning movement by their left. They threw themselves upon the Plataiai-Thebes road, intending to force the passage of the Asopos and to cut the Persian line of communication. Mr. Grundy justly calls attention to the fact that the military capacity of Pausanias is universally underrated. For boldness of design, prudence in execution, and power of handling masses of men in the face of almost insuperable obstacles he deserves a high place in the list of Greek generals. Under the conditions of ancient warfare the undertaking was not as desperate as it would seem.[2] In the absence of long-range weapons and arms of precision, it was perfectly feasible. Moreover the advantage in skill, discipline, and equipment was overwhelmingly in favour of the Greeks.[3] The Persians might well have been driven eastwards off their line of retreat. It was necessary, however, to take precautions against the Persian cavalry, which was massed on the Greek right flank, at a distance of at most three miles. A sort of *échelon* formation was therefore adopted, the Greek contingents being disposed obliquely from S.E. to N.W. across the roads leading from Plataiai to Thebes.

It is at this point that we begin to find the narrative of Herodotos interrupted and distorted by the national bias of his Athenian informants.

Here for the first time the historian directs our attention to the disposition of the Greek troops. He goes off at the word *κατ' ἔθνεα* (c. 25) and introduces the quarrel between the Tegeans and the Athenians for the post of danger and honour on the wing (cc. 26–28 *init.*) The whole of the story must be excised, on the following grounds :—

(1) The left wing of the Greeks in the second position lay on *ἱππάσιμος χῶρος*.[4] It might consequently expect to suffer from the attacks of the hostile cavalry, as was actually the case (c. 49 *end*). How then reconcile the Tegean demand for station on the left wing with their previous reluctance (shared by the whole army) to support the Megarians against the Persian cavalry in the first position?[5] It is not sufficient to advert to the success already gained against the cavalry

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ἐκ μὲν τῶν δεξιῶν γεώλοφος ὑψηλός, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμός· τὸν δ' ἀνὰ μέσον τόπον ἐπεῖχεν ἡ στρατοπεδεία, πεφραγμένη τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλείαις), is clearly simply modelled upon that of Thermopylai, and cannot be pressed into service here.

[1] Pp. 22, 43.

[2] The situation finds its counterpart in the battle of Blenheim. The Asopos did not constitute a more formidable obstacle than did the river Nebel and the marshes on its banks. Compare also the passage of the Granikos by Alexander.

[3] Cf. Holm, *Grk. Hist.* ii. 75 (E.T.): 'the Greeks were well-handled bodies of heavily-armed infantry.'

[4] Cf. ix. 25 : *δι' ἀπέδου χωρίου*; 31 : *ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ*; 49 : *ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ*.

[5] ix. 21.

(c. 25) and to the confidence thereby inspired, for the service now demanded was much more than steadiness against cavalry.

(2) There is no evidence to support the statement made, according to Herodotos, by the Tegeans, that post on a wing was their prerogative. Subsequently at any rate we find the Tegeans occupying precisely the station finally allotted to them on the field of Plataiai, *i.e.* next to the Spartans themselves. This is the case in 418 B.C. at the battle of Mantineia,[1] and in 394 B.C. at the battle of Corinth.[2]

(3) How was it that the Corinthians, 5000 strong, did not raise objections if they were moved from the side of the Spartans, presumably a post of honour, in order to make room for the Tegeans?

(4) The Tegean demand, if ever urged, must have been decided instantly by tactical considerations. A large compact body, like that of the Athenians (8000 in number), which was accompanied by the best light troops in the army (archers), was required on the wing, not the Tegean handful of 1500.

(5) The story of Herodotos is irreconcilable with the words which occur in chap. 28,—'The place next to themselves was given by the Spartans to the Tegeans, *on account of their courage and of the esteem in which they held them.*'[3] These words suggest that their actual place in the line was assigned to the Tegean hoplites in pursuance of some plan not given in Herodotos. The nature of the plan will clearly appear in the sequel.

(6) The quarrel, if a genuine incident, must have occurred earlier than is stated by Herodotos. It must in fact have broken out at the moment of taking position on Mount Kithairon. For the evidence goes to show that there also the Tegeans had not been posted on the wing.[4]

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[1] Thuc. v. 71.

[2] Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2, 19. And at that battle of Mantineia in which Epameinondas fell in 362 B.C. the Tegeans apparently stood next to the Thebans, *i.e.* the leaders, in this case on the left wing. Cf. Diod. xv. 85, 2: *Θηβαῖοι δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἐτάχθησαν, παραστάτας ἔχοντες Ἀρκάδας, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν παρέδωκαν Ἀργείοις κ.τ.λ.* The point is that they stand shoulder to shoulder with the premier corps, whatever its position.

[3] ix. 28: *προσεχέας δέ σφι εἵλοντο ἑστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκεν καὶ ἀρετῆς.*

[4] In the second position the Megarians are third in the line, reckoning from the left, *i.e.* they stand next on the right of the Plataians and Athenians. This place apparently corresponds to that which they held in the first position: for there also they occupied the left centre (cf. ix. 21: *Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵππῳ,*—this can only have been on the left and left centre of the line). To this we ought to add the consideration that, if the Tegeans had been on the wing in the first position, they would have urged that as an argument here.

On these grounds we unhesitatingly reject the story of the quarrel. It is an Athenian invention designed to flatter Athens by means of a verdict put into the mouths of the best troops in Greece, at the expense of a contingent second to none in valour (c. 28).[1]

In fact, the whole account of the marshalling of the Greek troops comes far too late in the narrative. Their arrangement in the line must have dated from the opening day of the campaign. With it disappears also the account of the marshalling of the Persian forces. There was no such formal *parataxis* as Herodotos depicts. The place of the account, which is closely modelled on the epic, is determined solely by artistic reasons, without reference to the logic of military practice. It is inserted precisely at this point because we have reached a crucial stage of the campaign: but the arrangement of the troops strictly belongs to an earlier moment, while the quarrel to which it is represented as giving rise is a pure fiction.

Having thus adopted from his epic model a quite artificial scheme of events, how does Herodotos proceed to develop it? Here we have the two armies ranged and described in battle array, but—nothing comes of it. Recourse is had to the sacrifices in order to explain the refusal of the combatants to finish the business, thus happily begun, in the true Homeric fashion.[2] Herodotos is manifestly quite in the dark as to the real reason for their delay. His assertion of the only obstacle that would appeal to his hearers,—the persistent veto of heaven,—involves him in difficulties, as it directly contradicts the account given in chap. 41, which relates the conference of the Persian officers. For if Mardonios was so eager to fight,[3] why had he not long ago given battle? It was surely not out of respect for the feelings of the Greek contingents fighting on the Persian side that he had conformed to the utterances of their soothsayers. Why should Mardonios summon his Staff only to insult it? The episode of the conference is inserted for no other purpose than that of enabling Herodotos to contrast dramatically, *more suo*, two antithetical solutions of the situation,—on the one hand decisive battle for good or ill, on the other the sound policy of waiting for disaffection and bribery to do their fatal work upon the national forces.[4]

Next there follows the account of the midnight visit of Alexander of Macedon to the Athenian lines.[5] This also is a story full of improbabilities, and without any claim to retention. How did Alexander escape recognition at the bridge-head held by the Persians? Or, if that is supposed to be no difficulty, how did his errand elude the notice of the Persian sentinels? If again these imagined him to be the bearer of despatches to the Greeks, where

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[1] The turn of expression in the concluding sentences (chap. 28) is designedly invidious,—*Αθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἤπερ Ἀρκάδας.* Who does not recognize the curl of the lip in this?

[2] Observe how skilfully the history of the various soothsayers (ix. 33–38 *init.*) is used in order to interrupt the narrative and to give the impression of delay in the action.

[3] ix. 37: *Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά.* Cf. chap. 41: *Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῇ ἔδρῃ.*

[4] Partly also Herodotos design to give expression to his own opinion on the situation.

[5] ix. 44 fol.

was the risk of which he makes so much ?[1] The reasons which he alleges to account for the Persian delay in attacking are very obviously put into his mouth by Herodotos himself in conformity with what he has already written in chaps. 36, 37. The assertion that the Persians found their commissariat breaking down is a manifest lie.[2] The very emphatic and artistically well-managed revelation of his name on the part of Alexander was quite superfluous to Aristeides, who must have become familiar in Athens with the face, figure, and tones of the Macedonian king.[3] Lastly, the whole point of the clandestine interview was to warn the Greeks of the intention of Mardonios to fight a decisive battle on the morrow.[4] Yet, in spite of the alleged eagerness of the Persian general and the difficulties threatening his army, the following day passed without any serious attempt being made to justify the Macedonian's prognostications.

The excision of the nocturnal visit of Alexander necessarily involves also the abandonment of the disgraceful story contained in chaps. 46, 47. According to Herodotos, the near prospect of encounter with the Persians and Medes so alarmed Pausanias that he suggested to the Athenian leaders an interchange of position on the part of their respective divisions. The Athenians moved to the right, while the Spartans withdrew to the left in order to face the Boiotians and the other Greeks who fought in the ranks of the Great King. The exchange, however, was detected by the Boiotians, who at once informed Mardonios. The Persian troops were consequently transferred to the right of their line, so as to bring them once more in front of the Spartans. Pausanias then for the second time changed his position, and resumed his post on the right wing. Finally, the Persians returned to their old station, and the farce was brought to an end.

'No incident similar to this,' remarks Grote,[5] 'will be found throughout the whole course of Lacedaemonian history.' He might safely have gone further and denied that any such incident ever did occur. From beginning to end the story must be stigmatised as a slander.

(1) If the Spartans had contemplated the movement at all, for what had they delayed its execution ? They could not have foreseen that they would receive timely warning of the approaching battle, nor yet that the Persian onset would be retarded long enough to enable the change in position to be made. It is evident that the proposition was only possible upon a very

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[1] ix. 45 : ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκεν οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασαι ὑπὸ προθυμίης.

[2] ix. 45 : ὀλίγων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. How is this to be reconciled with the words of Artabazos—ix. 41 : τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι ? Cf. Rawlinson, iv. 412 *note* 9 : 'it is evident from their whole history that the commissariat of the Persians was excellently managed.'

[3] On the occasion of his visit to Athens as special envoy from Mardonios, Herod. viii. 136. Alexander we there read had a compact of friendship (προξενία) with Athens.

[4] ix. 45 : νῦν δέ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἐᾶν χαίρειν, ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι. Cf. chap. 42 : ἐσήμηνε παραρτέεσθαί τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

[5] *Hist. of Greece*, v. 25.

general and decided feeling in its favour on the part of the Spartan hoplites; hence it cannot be set down to a sudden nervousness depriving Pausanias of self-command.

(2) It was surely a strange preparation for the decisive struggle, fraught with such grave consequences for Greece, to march and countermarch the best regiments of the allied army in the face of the enemy.

(3) What was the effect of the Spartan cowardice upon the mass of the Greek troops? The motive of the manoeuvre must, one thinks, have been as apparent to the rank and file of the contingents as to the Athenian hoplites.

(4) How is it that we never subsequently hear a syllable of this compliment to Athenian arms?

(5) The genesis of the story can be traced quite satisfactorily.

As the last of our long series of excisions we must abandon the incident narrated in c. 48. Mardonios sent a herald to the Greek lines with an absurd challenge, proposing that the Spartans and the Persians should fight on behalf of all. It is obvious that if the attempted change of post is cut out it must carry with it the challenge. It is modelled upon similar scenes in Homer; but it is also not uninfluenced by reminiscences of previous history.[1] Apart from this, the narrative is intrinsically unsound; for how do the words 'puffed up by the empty victory'[2] square with the statement that nothing more was attempted or achieved against the Greeks than the usual harassing attacks of the cavalry? We expect some deed of arms to redeem the doughty resolves of chap. 41.

Now that the ground has been cleared of the excrescences due to Athenian light-hearted manipulation of history let us resume the interrupted story of the Greek movements.

We have surmised that the movement of the allies to the second position was based upon something more than the desire merely to obtain a better supply of water: for the abandonment of their main line of communication and the greater exposure to the Persian cavalry on the lower ground were attendant drawbacks too serious to be counterbalanced by the single advantage named by Herodotos. Pausanias had determined to make a dash across the Asopos by the road which ran directly from Plataiai. The second Greek position represents the army in the act of carrying out this manoeuvre. It is disposed obliquely across the field, the left wing leading upon the Asopos.[3]

[1] Cf. Hom. *Il.* iii. 90 fol. Combat of champions was unsuccessfully used to decide the claims of Sparta and Argos to the Thyreatis, Herod. i. 82 (Thuc. v. 41).

[2] ix. 49: *ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας.* If it is argued that the cavalry onset was designed to introduce the infantry attack, why did that attack not ensue in due course? Confessedly (according to Herodotos) the cavalry were more successful this day than ever before.

[3] See *Note A* on the Asopos of Herodotos.

Why then was the offensive designed by the Spartan general not developed beyond this point; and why do we not find in Herodotos a syllable in allusion either to the scheme itself or to its collapse?

The first difficulty is solved by reference to the position of Pausanias. The army under his command consisted practically of three brigades constituted respectively by the Spartans (with whom we must reckon the Tegeans), the Athenians (along with the Plataians), and lastly the general body of the allies. The loose structure of the Greek national levy made unanimity in sentiment and cohesion in action impossible beyond certain narrow limits. Hence the delay in accomplishing the passage of the river, a delay that ruined the scheme, and all but ruined the national cause.

The latter part of our question is answered by reference to the ignorance of the historian's informant, who was quite in the dark as to the strategic ideas of the Greek commander-in-chief.

Another cause also is at work. It must be remembered that the campaign was a national affair, and it was undoubtedly a point of national honour to present it in the most favourable light. By tacit general consent the battle never became the subject of discussion. An analogy may be found in the medism of the Delphic oracle, which yet, by a species of national self-deception, did not forfeit its claim to Hellenic respect, in spite of its failure in the hour of trial.[1] So in the case before us, no Greek would have been so unpatriotic as to confess that dilatoriness and cowardice on the part of the national army had nearly proved fatal to Hellenic freedom.

We must also bear in mind that our knowledge comes almost entirely from the Athenians, and only from a certain section of them, so that we know scarcely anything of the views current outside Athens.[2] In spite of Athenian reticence, however, we clearly see that hesitation on the part of the Greek force, and more especially on the part of the Athenian contingent, which was in the van, enabled the Persians to divine the intentions of the Greek commander, and gave them time to perform a lateral movement in order to cover the Plataiai-Thebes road. Their clouds of skirmishers then effectually prevented all approach to the Asopos, and the favourable moment was lost.[3]

This brings us to the origin of the story, already condemned, which is so discreditable to the Spartans.

The Athenians, being on the left extremity of the line, which rested on the Asopos, would cross the river at the head of the column. After crossing

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[1] Cf. Holm, *Grk. Hist.* ii. 60 (E.T.).

[2] Can we, for example, believe that the Athenian version of the retirement of the centre to the Heraion (ix. 52) passed current among the states whose troops were implicated in that movement?

[3] ix. 49: ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ. By a strange inversion the Persian skirmishers lining the Asopos banks are regarded by the tradition as designed to entice the Greeks across the river (chap. 40: μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήϊσαν οἱ βάρβαροι, πειρεόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων). Such are the marks of a *literary* battle, not the touches of a man versed in the actual experiences of the field.

they would wheel to the right, in order to check the Persian advance along the bank to hinder the passage. The Spartans, who were posted on the extreme right, formed the rear-guard of the column, and covered the crossing from the Persian cavalry,—a most dangerous and responsible position, and one that explains why the valiant Tegeans were associated with the Spartan hoplites.[1] When the whole Greek force had made good its footing on the far side of the Asopos, the Spartans would naturally form the left wing of the new line. It is on this reversal of position,—one suggested, but never actually realized,—that the Athenian misrepresentation is based.[2] It contains this much of truth, that the brunt of the fighting, until the Spartan rear-guard effected its passage of the river, must have fallen upon the Athenians, who were required to sustain the whole weight of the Persian attack upon the head of the column.[3] There was surely honour enough in that to have rendered superfluous the sorry attempt to cast shame upon the best troops in Greece,—the more so as it was entirely due to the Athenians' own want of resolution that the Spartan valour was not put to the test contemplated by Pausanias.

The warp of the tissue of these fifty chapters is the green thread of Athenian jealousy of Sparta.[4] It is a highly suggestive fact that we find both the Spartans and the Tegeans,—who shared the honour of the final victory,—more or less skilfully represented in Herodotos as inferior to the Athenian troops. And in each instance we have been forced to the conclusion that the episode is false and due to Athenian vanity. The cloven hoof is unmistakably displayed in the account of the events following the challenge feigned to have been thrown down by Mardonios. With what painful circumstantiality are we assured that it was to the Spartans, and the Spartans alone, that the thanks of the allies were due for the destruction of the Spring Gargaphia[5]: as though to give point to the alleged reluctance of the Spartans to face Persian infantry by instancing this, probably equally fictitious, failure to stand against Persian cavalry.[6] If these things were done in the green tree, what

[1] ix. 28: *προσεχέας δέ σφι εἵλοντο ἑστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκεν καὶ ἀρετῆς.*

[2] Possibly also the Persian change of position, from the left to the right wing, is a genuine incident: the change might very probably be actually made in order to meet the threatened advance of the Greek left.

[3] This is the truth underlying the garbled account in Plutarch of the grumbling on the part of the Athenians against Pausanias. 'They thought that Pausanias carried it with a partial and high hand in moving them up and down, like so many Helots, at his pleasure, to face the boldest of the enemy's troops.' This surely alludes to the disposition of troops previous to the crossing of the river. Plutarch's sequel (the speech of Aristeides and consequent consent of the Athenians to change their position) is merely again the self-laudatory Athenian tradition.

[4] Contrast the reiterated jubilation found in our Athenian sources over the victory at Marathon with the silence observed with regard to the brilliant achievement of the Spartans and Arkadians at Plataiai.

[5] ix. 49: *ἦσαν μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι.* Here again the phrasing is used with set purpose.

[6] Here I may say that I see no sort of evidence for Mr. Grundy's laboured hypothesis of three 'developments' of the Greek second position. His theory leaves him with 100,000 men huddled on a single hill, cut off from water, harassed by cavalry, and with morale at zero point. Surely this 'development' could issue only in tragedy.

would have been done in the dry! Recall also the invidious expressions used with reference to Spartan duplicity, so different from the manly and straightforward, withal modest, character of the Athenians,[1] and the reference to the by this time threadbare theme of Spartan cowardice, so glaringly in contrast with the calm steadfastness of conscious valour that glowed in the breast of the Athenian hoplite.[2] Nay, the Spartans must be flouted even at the price of complimenting an almost equally odious people. Therefore is it recorded that the Tegeans charged the Persian rampart of shields before that the Spartans advanced a foot[3]: far be it from the Athenians to see any other city deprived of its meed of honour for the sake of other than—themselves! Lastly, what prominence is given to the Athenian share in the assault on the fortified camp.[4] Well might this be so, else were the hoplites of Athens like to have been but sleeping partners in that day's achievements. Here as so often, the Lakedaimonians were baffled by the combination of barricades and stout defence. Not until the invincible amalgam of Athenian valour and resolution (*ἀρετὴ καὶ λιπαρίη*)[5] was applied could any impression be made on the fortifications. Into the breach there rushed, not the Spartans,—alas for that national defect of ponderosity,—but the Tegeans.

With the end of chap. 49 there comes a change in the nature of the Greek operations,—a change from offensive to defensive tactics. The allied army, having lost the opportunity of turning the Persian position, is reduced to its old attitude of covering the approaches to the Peloponnese, and of waiting for Mardonios to take the initiative.[6]

The real objective of the movement of the Greeks to the 'Island' was the recovery of their line of communication, upon which they had then but precarious hold. They were, it is true, not driven entirely off it, for, as Mr. Grundy points out,[7] the Plataiai-Megara pass (3) still remained in their hands. Nevertheless, according to Mr. Grundy, the character of the most westerly pass is such as to render it impossible to supply satisfactorily the wants of one hundred thousand men through this channel alone. That the occupation of the eastern passes by the Persian advanced posts had begun to tell upon the Greek forces may readily be believed, but Herodotos himself represents the determination to fall back as due primarily to want of water,[8] in consequence of the failure of the Spartans to protect Gargaphia.

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[1] ix. 54: *τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων.* For Athenian mock modesty, see chap. 46 *end.*

[2] ix. 56: *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἦϊσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.*

[3] ix. 62: *προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους.*

[4] ix. 70: *ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἠμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν, ὡς δέ σφι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον . . . . τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος κ.τ.λ.*

[5] This 'bull-dog obstinacy' is precisely the quality usually attributed to the Spartans. At any rate Thucydides recognizes this,—v. 73: *χρονίους τὰς μάχας καὶ βεβαίους τῷ μένειν ποιοῦνται.*

[6] See *Note B* for the chronology of the events preceding the battle of Plataiai.

[7] P. 32.

[8] ix. 50: *ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς.*

This repetition of the water difficulty we should be inclined to reject here again, at any rate as furnishing the ground of the retirement. For, wherever we place Gargaphia, the army had still the other spring at its command; and Herodotos admits that at the foot of Mount Kithairon, ten stades or so in the rear of the position, water was abundant.[1] There was also the water supply of the town of Plataiai itself.[2] For surely the Greeks ought not to be imagined as cut off from Plataiai and the base of the hills, and hopelessly surrounded by the Persian horsemen. There cannot have been any grave difficulty in supplying the needs of the troops in line on the Spring Gargaphia,[3] as the country between that position and the mountain is by no means difficult. The stress laid upon the deficiency of water, if not due to the character of the historian's informant, has its origin in the desire to bring in the Spartans as ultimately responsible for a retrograde movement primarily caused by the Athenians themselves.

The main features of this last act of the drama, as given by the Athenian tradition, are as follows.[4]

The council of generals determined to execute a night movement to the rear, the so-called 'Island' being given as the rendezvous of the contingents. It was further resolved that, on the same night, half the army should be detached eastwards to Mount Kithairon, in order to extricate the commissariat train blocked up in the pass. When the appointed hour arrived the centre fell back,—not to the 'Island,' *i.e.* 10 stades, but 20 stades, finally taking post at the Heraion, which lay 'in front of' Plataiai. Next, the Spartans were ordered to retire; but the irrational obstinacy of the Lochagos Amompharetos, who construed the movement as a flight, detained the Spartan contingent all night. Meantime the Athenians, suspecting the Spartans of a desire to play them false, remained in position on the left awaiting definite instructions. As day dawned, Pausanias at last abandoned his recalcitrant captain to his fate, and set his troops in motion 'along the line of the hills.' The Athenians also retired, by way of the plain. After marching 10 stades Pausanias halted for the Pitanate regiment under Amompharetos on the stream called Moloeis, near a temple of Eleusinian Demeter, in the district called Argiopian. Simultaneously with the appearance of Amompharetos the Persian cavalry swooped down upon the Spartans and Tegeans, to be followed soon by the Persian infantry.

Such is the narrative of Herodotos, deceptive in its simplicity and apparent straightforwardness. Closer examination reveals in it the features with which we have become familiar. On the one hand Herodotos fails to appreciate the significance of the various movements of the forces, on the

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[1] ix. 51: *ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι* (*sc.* the 'Island'), *ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ.*

[2] Assuming that the town had other sources of supply than the springs commanded by the 'Island.'

[3] For what other service engaged the activities of the Helots and light troops in attendance on the hoplites? They were apparently of not the slightest use against the cavalry. We may remark here, by the way, that no one can take seriously their numbers as given by Herodotos.

[4] ix. 50–57.

other he has incorporated all that national vanity, with the double object of glorifying Athens and disparaging Sparta, had invented.

Up to this point in the story the central brigade of the allies has escaped Athenian calumny; its share in events is shadowy, but not actually disgraceful. Its turn has at last come. Although the troops of the centre had borne the heat and burden of the day that proved so disastrous to Spartan prestige, yet now, under the cloak of night, they flee in headlong haste, eager only to secure themselves against the dreaded cavalry. Mark, however, the point wherein the narrative halts. In spite of their anxiety to put themselves beyond the reach of the Persian horsemen, the contingents of the centre do not seek shelter in Plataiai itself nor on the rocky slopes of Mount Kithairon (which ultimately became their refuge[1]), nor yet on the 'Island,'—a position admittedly outside the sphere of cavalry operations,[2]—but they take up their station, apparently in good order, 'in front of' the temple, which was itself 'in front of the town.'[3]

There are several possible sites for the Heraion.[4] The most probable one stands within the circuit of the existing enceinte of Plataiai, just to the east of the akropolis. The question of the site is of far greater moment than is the identification of the 'Island,' which was in fact never reached by any of the Greek force at all.[5] Its importance lies in this, that, knowing the exact site of the temple, we should be able to decide what amount of credence should attach to the Athenian account of the conduct of the troops composing the centre.

That account can hardly be accepted as it stands. It will be observed that the suggested site of the Heraion lies at no great distance[6] from the tract of ground which is convincingly identified by Mr. Grundy as the 'Island.' The Heraion may well, therefore, have been actually *the position which the central brigade was instructed to occupy.* Its proximity to the town[7] is an important feature; it was surely of some moment for the Greeks to retain possession of Plataiai, which was a fortified place commanding the entrance of the pass to Megara. In order to carry out the project of Pausanias it was essential to dispose the various brigades in such a way

[1] When cut to pieces by the Theban cavalry, ix. 69.

[2] ix. 51: *ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον* (*sc.* the 'Island') *ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι ἵνα . . οἱ ἱππέες σφέας μὴ σινοίατο, ὥσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων.*

[3] ix. 52: *οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον.* The repetition *ἔφευγον—φεύγοντες* seems designed to give the impression of panic-stricken retreat. *Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο κ.τ.λ.* Apparently the town of Plataiai is not approached more nearly than is indicated by the place of the temple. Of course only a small fraction of the centre could have been accommodated within the town; the point is that so far as we can see not a man betakes himself thither.

[4] See the *American Journ. of Arch.* vol. vi. (1890) p. 469.

[5] Yet the identification of the 'Island' is generally made the touchstone of theories of Plataian topography. This misconception of the comparative value of the two points is strikingly exemplified by Mr. Grundy, who finds it possible to discuss the operations without reference to the site of the Heraion, other than its incidental mention in a sentence or two on p. 17.

[6] About eight stades, or one mile, on Mr. Grundy's map.

[7] ix. 52: *ἔφευγον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν... ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιός ἐστι τῆς Πλαταιέων.*

that they might support one another. The new post of the quondam centre, near the Heraion under the walls of Plataiai, was well chosen in this respect, to check any attempt on the part of the Persian cavalry to creep along the side of the mountain and endanger the operation in which the Spartans were about to engage.

That such was the intended function of the Greek centre appears from its behaviour during the conflict. Herodotos tells us[1] that the Greek right was already pushing the enemy off the field when news was brought (*ἀγγέλλεται*) to the centre at the Heraion 'that the fight had begun, and that Pausanias was gaining the victory.' The words of Herodotos are here significant,—not in respect of any inference that may be supposed to be deducible therefrom as to the site of the temple, but as indicating that Pausanias deliberately detached a member of his force for this special service, and also that he knew exactly whither to send his messenger. Here again Herodotos has missed the real import of the fact. The message of Pausanias was nothing less than an urgent summons for an advance. The sudden development of the Persian attack caused a rapid modification of the combinations of the Greek general; and, failing support from the 'Island' (upon which the Athenians ought long before to have taken up their position), a message was despatched to the centre, then lying uselessly at Plataiai, to hurry it up in reinforcement. It is in the highest degree worthy of notice that the centre in response at once splits up into two sections. The Corinthians and their companions marched off through the hills, while the Megarians and the Phliasians with their comrades proceeded by way of the plain. Now, in the second position, the Corinthians stood alongside of the hoplites of Tegea and Sparta: the Megarians were ranged shoulder to shoulder with the Plataians and the Athenians. It is pretty clear from this that the two sections of the centre[2] hastened to join their respective wings,—*in accordance with the orders transmitted from the commander-in-chief:* it was no pell-mell scramble to be in at a battle already decided without them.[3]

With regard to the centre of the Greek line all is intelligible and free from complications. In opposition to the received view I maintain that it is almost entirely in connection with the left wing, *i.e.* the Athenians, that difficulties arise. The Athenians were evidently hard put to it to render an

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[1] ix. 69: *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικᾷεν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω κ.τ.λ.*

[2] And, again, these sections correspond in strength to the wings. The right wing (Lakedaimonians and Tegeans) = 11,500. The left wing (Athenians and Plataians) = 8,600. The united contingents of the centre numbered 18,600. If we take the expression in ix. 69: *οἱ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλιασίους* to give the two extremes of that section, and thus to include the contingents standing between those of Phlious and Megara, we shall find that it numbered 7,300 men. The remainder of the centre was 11,300 strong; the numerical strength of the central sections thus bearing an appropriate relation to the strength of the respective wings. The two sections also contain a nearly equal number of contingents. I think that the mention of the Phliasians is really meant to indicate the point of cleavage of the centre, as above suggested.

[3] As it is represented in ix. 69: *οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες κ.τ.λ.* Lower down, the Thebans espy the Megarians *ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον.*

explanation of their action during the retirement to the 'Island.' It is in vain that with malice prepense meaningless prominence is given to their own march through the plain, while the Spartans fell back through the hills.[1] Meaningless, for this reason: given the position and the objective point of the wings, no other route than that which is so invidiously described by Herodotos is possible. The map furnishes the unanswerable proof of the disingenuousness of the narrative. The historian tries to fasten upon the centre the imputation of deliberate betrayal of the wings;[2] but what of the Athenian disobedience to orders? For the Athenians also never reached the 'Island.' Could anything be more transparently false than the reason assigned by the Athenians themselves for their breach of discipline,—'knowing that it was the Spartan temper to say one thing and do another, they remained quiet at their post'?[3] Although Pausanias had issued the order for the troops to fall back, an order which he knew had already been obeyed by the centre, one which he had a right to believe was likewise respected by the left wing, we are asked to allow that it was possible for him to remain in position unsupported, for no other reason apparently than to delude the Athenians at the cost of his own destruction and the ruin of Greece. The Spartan king appears in the Athenian tradition as a simple *farceur*. Amid all the contradictions in which the narrative of the campaign abounds no sentence is so preposterous; none exhibits in a more baleful aspect the inherent vice of the Athenians. The lie is inserted in order to conceal their own failure to gain the rendezvous appointed by the council of generals,—a council in the deliberations of which Aristeides the Just had a voice. It was necessary in 479 B.C., and still is necessary, to ask how it came about that the right wing found itself without supports when the attack opened against it.

The root of the distorted version of the retirement of the army to its third position is the malicious persistence of the Athenians in depicting the movement as *a flight instigated by the Spartans*. Hence they were at pains to minimize their own share in it, oblivious of the fact that in avoiding this feigned Scylla they fall into the more terrible Charybdis of confessed disloyalty and insubordination.

The desperate efforts of the Athenians to represent their conduct as magnanimous would be amusing were it not that their tradition has won its way to credence as sober history. The honour of the victory belonged solely to the Tegeans and the Spartans. It was a bitter pill to swallow, but Hellas could not be befooled on so patent a fact: all knew that the Athenian hoplites had not contributed a single blow to the overthrow of the Persian infantry in

[1] ix. 56: ὁ Παυσανίης . . . ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας . . . Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἧϊσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

[2] ix. 52: ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνεκέετο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες κ.τ.λ. Cf. the expressions used in the fictitious message from Pausanias, ix. 60.

[3] ix. 54: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπείρεσθαί τε Παυσανίην τὸ χρεὼν εἴη ποιέειν.

the decisive struggle. The efforts of the Athenians were perforce confined to accounting for the damaging fact and turning it to the national honour. The Theban attack at the head of the second Persian column[1] came in here very opportunely to prevent their carrying aid to the Spartans, who were beset in spite of their pusillanimous concern to be secure. What, however, is the value of the text of the Spartan message which bulks so largely in the narrative? There is an evident anxiety to magnify the Athenian arms on this day:[2] yet their victory over the Thebans is not so decisive as to drive their cavalry from the field.[3]

From what I have written, my conception of the plan adopted in the council of generals[4] is easily gathered. The Greek force was instructed to retire by brigades,—the centre to the Heraion, covering Plataiai and the 'Island,' the Athenians to the 'Island' itself. These two divisions were designed to support the crucial element of the entire movement, *viz.* the Spartan advance to the relief of the convoys beset in Mount Kithairon. To the right wing, composed as it was of the flower of the army, this difficult and dangerous task was appropriately committed. In the new position, the old central brigade would form the extreme left, under the shelter afforded by the Heraion and the fortifications of the town: on the other hand, the troops of the new centre, being nearest to the Spartans, might anticipate heavy calls upon their alacrity and courage, so that they were judiciously composed of Athenians. As in the second position, so in the third Pausanias made the best possible distribution of his forces. The Spartans themselves were designed from the first to advance straight from their old position, near the Spring Gargaphia, to the pass. The locality in which the final encounter took place proves this, for it lies off the line that must have been followed by troops falling back directly upon the 'Island.'

What, then, caused the break-down of this scheme? To this question Herodotos has a ready answer. The obstinacy of the Spartan captain who refused to withdraw from his post was the prime cause of the collapse of the plan. His ill-timed punctiliousness broke the Greek force into its component brigades, which at the moment of contact with the enemy found themselves sundered by no inconsiderable intervals. The different units had all but lost touch of one another when the Persian squadrons held the Spartan division fast for the attack of their supporting column.

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[1] ix. 61: *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ὡρμέατο βωθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν. καί σφι ἤδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων . . . ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βωθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπεε.*

[2] ix. 67: *Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων.* Herodotos has taken care in a previous chapter (ix. 40 *end*) to prepare for this by magnifying the courage of the Thebans in leading the cavalry charges. When the Athenians co-operate in the assault on the fort (ix. 70) *οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν.*

[3] Which cuts to pieces the Megarians and Phliasians on their march to the scene of action, ix. 69.

[4] ix. 50: *οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί . . . συνελέχθησαν . . . παρὰ Παυσανίην κ.τ.λ.*

The story about Amompharetos is perhaps one of the most difficult points in the narrative of the operations preceding the battle. We may,—and this is the least satisfactory course,—accept the story, and compare the attitude of Amompharetos with the refusal of the polemarchs Hipponoïdas and Aristokles to execute a tactical movement at the battle of Mantineia on the orders of king Agis.[1] Or has Herodotos here incorporated a regimental tradition of the Pitanates, one derived from his Pitanate friend Archias[2]? I prefer to account for the origin of the story in the following manner.

The Spartans did not evacuate their position without taking the precautions demanded by the situation. Amompharetos and his Lochos were detached to occupy the crest of the ridge which concealed the Spartan lines: on the ridge stood the monument of Androkrates. The object of this was twofold,—to observe the Persian cavalry, which would soon resume its daily task of keeping in touch with the Greeks, and to retain as long as possible the semblance of the Greeks being in position.[3] Amompharetos stuck to his post to the last minute that it was prudent to do so, and then rejoined the main body 'at a walk'[4]; the honour of a Spartan would not have permitted a less leisurely pace. The main body had come to a halt for him and his news a little over a mile in advance.[5] His arrival just in time, with the report that the Persians were moving, enabled the Spartans to change front and to form for action in a favourable position on the slopes at the head of the stream Moloeis and the Argiopian region. Amompharetos is painted by Herodotos as an obstinate fool,[6] the rival of his commanding officer in buffoonery. On the contrary he was an officer conspicuous even among Spartans for intrepidity, one whose tried valour gained for him the perilous but honourable task of screening the retirement of the main body. Not undeserved was the prize he won for bravery in the presence of the enemy,[7] a prize which the Spartan purchased only with his life. Possibly there is this amount of truth in the story of his refusal to retire, that he may have been prominent at the council in urging the rejection of the combination which Pausanias tried to effect. The parenthetical remark of Herodotos, that

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[1] Thuc. v. 71. But there the charge had already begun, and the movement may well have been impracticable. The fact that a court martial condemned the two commanders to banishment proves nothing.

[2] For Archias see Herod. iii. 55. We need not enter here upon the vexed question of the Pitanate regiment, the existence of which is denied by Thuc. i. 20.

[3] So Herodotos (ix. 58 *init.*) correctly distinguishes between the report brought to Mardonios by his scouting cavalry (*ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα*) and the evidence of his own eyes (*εἰδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἐρῆμον*). The former refers to the discovery by the cavalry of the true state of the case, notwithstanding the presence of the Greek outpost on the hill: the latter indicates that by the time Mardonios made his inspection the rear-guard had withdrawn, and the heights upon which the Greek sentinels had been for some days visible were deserted (cf. *ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὁρέοντες ἐρῆμα*;).

[4] ix. 57: *ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος.*

[5] *Ibid.* *τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἱδρύμενον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται.... καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι, καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσεκέετο πᾶσα.*

[6] ix. 55: *ὁ δὲ* (*sc.* Pausanias) *μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον.*

[7] ix. 71.

Amompharetos had not been present at that council,[1] is scarcely credible in itself and has the air of a makeshift to get round what the historian himself felt to be an improbability.[2]

The retirement of the various divisions of the army cannot have been attempted simultaneously. It was an operation of much delicacy for an army of nearly 100,000 to fall back over hilly ground in the dark, especially if we accept *au pied de la lettre* the account of the demoralisation produced in the Greek force by the incessant attacks of the cavalry.[3] Not until the centre was on the march did Pausanias give the word to his own brigade.[4] The retirement was evidently intended to take place by divisions. It was timed to begin at the second night-watch, *i.e.* about midnight.[5] The sum total of the retiring centre, according to Herodotos, was about 39,000 men. The battle was fought in the month of July-August, when day begins to break betwen half-past four and five. A simple calculation from these data brings us to the conclusion that the manoeuvre could not have been executed within the time allowed. The Athenian division, deliberately or not, made the mistake of not marching first: they were consequently delayed by the clumsiness and unwieldiness of the centre, and the Spartans themselves were surprised by daylight[6] as they advanced towards Mount Kithairon.

The failure of the scheme must be traced to the tactical unskilfulness of the Greek commanders. In the battles of the pre-Alexandrine age in Greece nothing is more striking than the absence of tactics, and this in spite of the brilliant success attending the combinations of the few tacticians who passed meteor-like across the horizon of Hellas. In 479 B.C. it is almost too early to speak of tactics in connection with Greek armies: their movements are still somewhat haphazard and capricious.[7] Pausanias set his officers a task beyond their powers. They had succeeded in the advance from the first to the second position; but in the retrograde movement, with all its complications of direction and its nice adjustment of the divisions to the work of mutual support in the offensive designed by the Spartan general, the commanders of the contingents utterly failed. The army was split up into separate bodies,

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[1] ix. 53: *ἐθώυμαζέ τε ὁρέων τὸ ποιεύμενον, ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ.*

[2] The following also occurs to me,—that Athenian wit gave this turn to the facts in order to exhibit a quasi-comic *reductio ad absurdum* of the boasted Spartan principle as laid down by Demaratos, Herod. vii. 104: 'Law forbids them to flee in battle, whatever the number of their foes, and requires them to stand firm and either to conquer or to die.' The Athenians must have been as weary of hearing this as the Spartans themselves were of hearing about Marathon (Thuc. i. 73).

[3] Recent Greek history affords an instructive parallel.

[4] ix. 53: *Παυσανίης δὲ ὁρέων σφέας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι.*

[5] ix. 51: *ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ᾖ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμεομένους καί σφεας ἑπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται.*

[6] ix. 56: *τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἠὼς κατελάμβανε.*

[7] It is instructive to notice that it is precisely when in conflict with *foreign* troops that tactics and strategy are exhibited by the Greek generals, in the earlier period of Greek history. For the whole principle governing such contests was quite other than that governing the inter-tribal wars. Hence the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataiai stand apart in interest in this respect. It is a difference that is not explicable merely by reference to our fuller knowledge of the details of the operations.

but the rare steadiness of the men retrieved the blunders of their leaders. Plataiai also was a 'soldiers' battle,'—one of the finest ever won by the 'Dorian spear.'[1]

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

NOTE A.

On the Application of the Name Asopos in Herodotos.

Mr. Grundy (p. 18 fol.) finds in the use of the name Asopos the 'real difficulty' in the account of the operations at Plataiai, and suggests that its solution lies in the assumption that Herodotos used the name in two senses:—

(1) The main stream of the Asopos, called by Leake the Thespian Asopos.

(2) The stream that takes its rise in the *Apotripi* spring (stream A^1 in Mr. Grundy's map: cf. Leake, *North. Gr.* 333).

He bases his opinion upon the following arguments:—

(1) The Greek second position was defined by the Spring Gargaphia and the monument of Androkrates, which lay in the plain 'less than three-quarters of a mile from Plataea.' Yet, at the end of chap. 30, in speaking of the same position, Herodotos uses the words *οὗτοι μέν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.*

(2) The expression just quoted is followed in the very next sentence (chap. 31) by the words *παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα.*

From this, Mr. Grundy concludes that the reference in the first passage is to the tributary A^1, and that the addition of the words *τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα*, 'not evidently referring directly to the Asopus at the end of chapter 30, but to the words *ἐν Πλαταιῇσι*,' leaves no 'reasonable doubt that the stream here mentioned is the main Asopus.'

In chap. 40 (*μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι κ.τ.λ.*) the reference is again to the main or Thespian Asopos.

Reading further (p. 26), we find that this hypothesis of a twofold signification of the name has apparently been prepared in order to surmount the difficulty presented by the statement in chap 51, that the 'Island' lay 10 stades 'from the Asopos and Gargaphia' (*ἡ δέ ἐστι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα*).

We must altogether reject Mr. Grundy's suggestion. The name Asopos is applied by Herodotos consistently to the main stream, and to it only. If Mr. Grundy is right in taking Leake to task (p. 45) for calling the large *Kriekúki* stream the Asopos, it is somewhat strange to find that he himself applies the name to the insignificant brook A^1 on the ground that it can be seen from the walls of Plataiai, while the main river is invisible (p. 26).

It is in the highest degree improbable that two distinct senses of the word should have been so closely combined as in the two consecutive sentences quoted from chaps. 30, 31. In so far as Mr. Grundy's hypothesis rests upon the locality to be assigned to the monument of Androkrates, it has already been refuted. It is also partly the outcome of a too great rigidity in the translation of the phrase *ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ*. Mr. Grundy is concerned to show that the army was literally astride the brook (p. 21). The preposition is used in its technical military sense, which would not conflict even with the ordinary acceptation of the situation of the heroön. (Cf. chap. 38 *τότε δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος...ἐθύετο*: which does not mean literally on the banks.) There is no mystery in the addition of the words *τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα* to the name Asopos in the second passage. They merely indicate the change of position to another portion of the river. It would surely have been strange to remark simply that the Persians also advanced to the Asopos,

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[1] Aesch. *Pers.* 812 fol.

seeing that they had been encamped on that river since the commencement of the operations (cf. chap. 19 : ἐμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους). The words mean little more than 'to this precise point.' Even admitting them to have some special signification, it would surely follow from Mr. Grundy's confession that they refer to the words ἐν Πλαταιῇσι (p. 19), that Herodotos meant thereby the stream A^1, which takes its rise in the direction of Plataiai.

When we reach chap. 40, Mr. Grundy decides, on what criteria I know not, that the Asopos there mentioned, is 'certainly the main or Thespian Asopus.' This, taken in conjunction with the rest of his topography, necessitates the adoption of a theory as to three 'developments' of the second Greek position (p. 19). It would surely have been simpler to keep to the first hypothesis, that the Asopos upon which the Greeks lay was the stream A^1, than to pile up this new hypothesis in order after all to bring the Greeks to the main stream.

There remains the passage relative to the situation of the 'Island.' If we take the Asopos from which the 10 stades are measured to be the main river, then the given co-ordinates (10 stades from Gargaphia, and 10 stades from Asopos) bring us to Leake's 'Island,' a position which Mr. Grundy has shown to be impossible (p. 23 fol.). Yet if the Spring Gargaphia is rightly identified with the *Apotripi*, it becomes obviously impossible to argue that Herodotos measured from the stream A^1, as his starting-point in that case could only be either the source or the mouth of the stream. The source is impossible as it coincides with the spring. The mouth is equally impossible as that is on the line of the Thespian Asopos, which line is out of the question, as already remarked. I suggest that κ' (=20) has dropped out before the καὶ. We should read ἡ δέ ἐστι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ κ' καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα. The tract of ground identified as the 'Island by Mr. Grundy lies almost exactly 20 stades from the Thespian Asopos.

The latest utterances of Mr. Grundy (*Classical Review*, April 1898, p. 161), in answer to Mr. Frazer, simply re-affirm his views, with the additional conjecture that in the application of the name Asopos to the stream A^1 Herodotos has preserved the local custom of the Plataians!

NOTE B.

On the Chronology of the Operations at Plataiai.

The views advanced in the preceding pages necessarily involve the rejection or the modification of the chronological items embedded in the narrative of Herodotos.

Herodotos does not tell us how long the Greeks remained in their first position, on the breast of Mount Kithairon. We are informed, however, that the two armies had been encamped opposite to each other already eight days before Mardonios was advised to close the pass through which the Greeks received their supplies (ix. 39). The pass was actually closed at nightfall of the same day. The expression of Herodotos is ambiguous : it is not clear what is the point of departure involved in the words ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ. Are the eight days to be counted from the marshalling of the troops in the *second* position? Such seems to be the generally accepted view, but it has always appeared to me somewhat of a marvel that historians should credit this reflection upon the intelligence of the Persian general. If Herodotos really meant that the Greeks had been eight days in the second position before the pass was blocked, I should see in the statement but one more instance of the working of national antipathy. The Greeks cannot allow the invaders to have possessed ordinary common sense. Obvious as was the stroke of blocking the main artery of the Greek communications, the tradition puts it to the credit of Timagenidas, a renegade Theban it is true, but still a Greek (ix. 38 fol.). Mardonios, to my mind, was more than a match for his opponents in point of military skill, and an explanation more in accordance with the probabilities of the case must be sought. The words quoted bear reference to and date from the first day that the two armies found themselves face to face in the *first* position. The pass was closed as soon as the evacuation of the lines on Mount Kithairon threw it open to attack. The Greeks abandoned their first position within the week.

In precisely the same way must we interpret the words in chap. 41 : ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι. The expression ἐν Πλαταιῇσι simply indicates the theatre of

operations, and does not restrict us to the second position. The eleven days in this case also are reckoned from the opening of the campaign. Whether this was indeed the intention of Herodotos must be left undecided.

The next note of time is given in the important words at the opening of chap. 40: 'after this the armies waited two more days' (*μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι*). What are the two termini involved in this expression? With regard to the event from which the reckoning is made no doubt is possible: it is, as Herodotos says, the closing of the pass. When we ask to what conspicuous event in the development of the drama the two days' interval brings us, the reply is vague and unsatisfactory. For they are followed by the resolution of Mardonios to end this idle delay; and yet two days more intervene before his purpose is accidentally accomplished. As it stands, the sentence is meaningless. It becomes intelligible only upon the view already developed.

The eleventh day is devoted to the consultation of his Staff by Mardonios (ix. 41). Alexander's visit to the Greek outposts takes place at midnight (ix. 44). On the twelfth day occur the challenge of Mardonios, and the cavalry attacks which culminate in the loss of the Spring Gargaphia: the Greek generals determine to fall back upon the 'Island' (ix. 48 fol.). During the night the army evacuates the second position (ix. 52 fol.). In the early morning of the thirteenth day the final battle is fought (ix. 56 fol.).

Now we have already seen that we must cut out as fictitious items the consultation, the visit, the challenge, and perhaps also the loss of the spring,—that is to say, the whole of the matter allotted to the eleventh and twelfth days, with the exception of the deliberation of the Greek generals. The evacuation of the second position and the final struggle must therefore be antedated by two days, and be assigned to the night of the tenth day and the morning of the eleventh day respectively. In other words, the event to which the reckoning is made in the sentence quoted from chap. 40 ('after this the armies waited two more days') is *the final battle itself*, which took place two days after the closing of the pass of Dryoskephalai.

The story, as given by Herodotos, imperatively requires a somewhat protracted stay in the second position on the part of the Greeks. It was also clearly impossible, from their very nature, that the interpolated episodes of the consultation, the challenge, etc. should immediately follow the adoption of that position. Herodotos has consequently *duplicated the interval between the closing of the pass and the final battle.* He may perhaps be acquitted of the mistake already pointed out, by which a further addition of eight days is made to the time spent in the second position.

My idea is that when their offensive failed the Greeks at once retired, *i.e.* at midnight of the tenth day, reckoning from their first appearance on the northern slopes of Mount Kithairon. They were not more than three days in the second position.

Hence my diary of the operations is as follows:—

DAY	
1	Greeks take up First Position.
2–6	Attacks by Persian Cavalry. Death of Masistios.
7	[Evacuation of First Position probably on night of this day.]
8	Greeks in Second Position. [Pass closed on night of this day.]
9	Continued Skirmishing. Plataiai-Thebes road blocked by Persians.
10	Meeting of Greek Generals. [Retirement to 'Island' partially effected on night of this day.]
11	Final Battle.
12–20	Burial of Dead. Collection of Spoil. Consultation.
21	Greeks march on Thebes.

The usual scheme gives in addition:—

(1) An unknown number of days in the first position.
(2) Eight days in second position before the closing of the pass.
(3) Two days of purposeless waiting after the closing of the pass.
(4) Two days devoted to Persian Council, the Challenge, and blocking of the spring.

The result of the usual scheme is that the battle was fought on the thirteenth day *after the occupation of the second position*, and Thebes is reached on the twenty-third day after the same event. If the same generous measure is used in meting out the time spent in the first position, the Greeks must have been four or five weeks on the Asopos. Could a force of one hundred thousand men have kept the field for that length of time in the fifth century B.C? The case is very different from that of a blockade, in which one side has an absolute superiority. Lastly, how explain on the ordinary theory the arrival of the Mantineians and Eleans too late to take part in the battle (ix. 77)? An explanation cannot be found in the closing of the passes, as one at least remained open to the end: nor, if such had been the reason, would the leaders of those contingents have been banished for failure to arrive in time. On the view here presented, ten days covered the whole series of operations previous to the final catastrophe; and the two Peloponnesian contingents may well have found that events before Plataiai outstripped their progress to the seat of war.

W. J. W.

Fig. 1.—Tyche and Plutus (*from a column of the Hall*).

EXCAVATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT MELOS.

The Hall of the Mystae.

[Plates I.—III.].

The Hall of the Mystae is a Roman building on the western slope of the ancient town of Melos. The principal object and result of the excavation begun by Mr. D. Mackenzie and myself in April and extended by Mr. Cecil Smith in May 1896, was to put on record its fine mosaic pavement. We were fortunate in being able to call to our aid a skilful and indefatigable draughtsman. Mr. Charles Clark, architect to the School, joined us in Melos as soon as he could be spared from the Athens excavations, and worked upon the mosaic for several weeks in the full heat and glare of a Mediterranean summer. Of the illustrations, fruits of his patient labour, which this paper serves to introduce, Plate I. represents the two figured panels on the scale of 1 : 25, and is a very faithful rendering of their general effect; while Plate II. gives part of the finest panel on the scale of 1 : 5, and shows the method of execution in detail; it is reproduced from one of a series of rubbings' coloured cube by cube upon the spot, which are practically full-size facsimiles of all the principal figures. The spirited figure of the cock (Plate III.), supplied by

another rubbing, gives a good idea of the life-like force of the design. For the restoration attempted in the key-plan (Fig. 4) we are jointly responsible.

The mosaic seems to date from the first half of the third century.

The site is marked H on a sketch-plan of the ancient town which accompanies Mr. Cecil Smith's account of our work in Melos (*J. H. S.* xvi. p. 348). Mr. Cecil Smith has there described the mosaic (p. 354); he has since published two inscriptions which we found there and inferred from them that the place belonged to a Society of Dionysiac Mystae (*J. H. S.* xvii. p. 14).

Previous History of the Site.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that other inscriptions naming the Mystae have been found at the same spot. An Athenian magazine[1] of the year 1862 contains the following among other archaeological news: 'In Melos in the ground called *Τρεμινθία* near the ancient theatre in the course of an excavation made by private persons there was lately found a mosaic pavement said to be about 40 m. in length, a wall of squared stones with a door in it and various marble sculptures bearing inscriptions, apparently of Roman date.' After describing them the report goes on 'the excavation is being made with the knowledge and indeed under the supervision of the local authorities.' How little this meant is implied by the words which follow, 'we hope that the objects found may not be dispersed, as has happened on other occasions.' Finally it is suggested that an ephor should be sent from Athens. From enquiries made on the spot, it appears that there was no official excavation; the Government contented itself with stopping the enterprise of the 'private persons' and securing the marbles for the Athens Museum, where they now are. They consist of a bust of Aurelia Euposia (Fig. 8) set up *ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς ἔργῳ* by certain *Περιβώμιοι* (Cavvadias' Catalogue 424),[2] the head of a young man bound with a fillet (Catalogue 459), and two columns, the ends of which have been sawn off for convenience of transport. On one of these columns is incised a figure of Athene, on the other that of the Good Fortune of Melos, and in each case there is inscribed a prayer that the Goddess may be propitious to Alexander, founder of the Holy Mystae (*κτίστῃ εἱερῶν μυστῶν*). They are fully described and published in a valuable article by Wolters on 'Melische Kultstatuen' (*Ath. Mitth.* xv. 1890, p. 246). The figure of the Tyche of Melos has acquired a certain importance in the history of art since Furtwängler used its testimony in support of his restoration of the Melian Aphrodite.[3] It is reproduced in Fig. 1.

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[1] *Φιλίστωρ*, vol. ii. p. 274. Copied thence into the *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1861, p. 234, and *Bullettino*, 1862, p. 86. See especially the article by Wolters, *Ath. Mitth.* xv. 1890, p. 246, to which I refer below.

[2] The inscription is published on p. 16 of the last volume (xvii) of this Journal. The early notices mention a headless bust and *two* heads. The second of these may have been the head which is now fitted to the bust.

[3] *Meisterwerke*, p. 624. English edition, p. 381.

The description of the site as *ἐν τῇ θέσει Τρεμινθίᾳ πρὸς τῷ ἐκεῖ ἀρχαίῳ θεάτρῳ* is accurate in the sense that the hill-side called Tramithia and the theatre are in the same part of the island; but they lie ten minutes walk

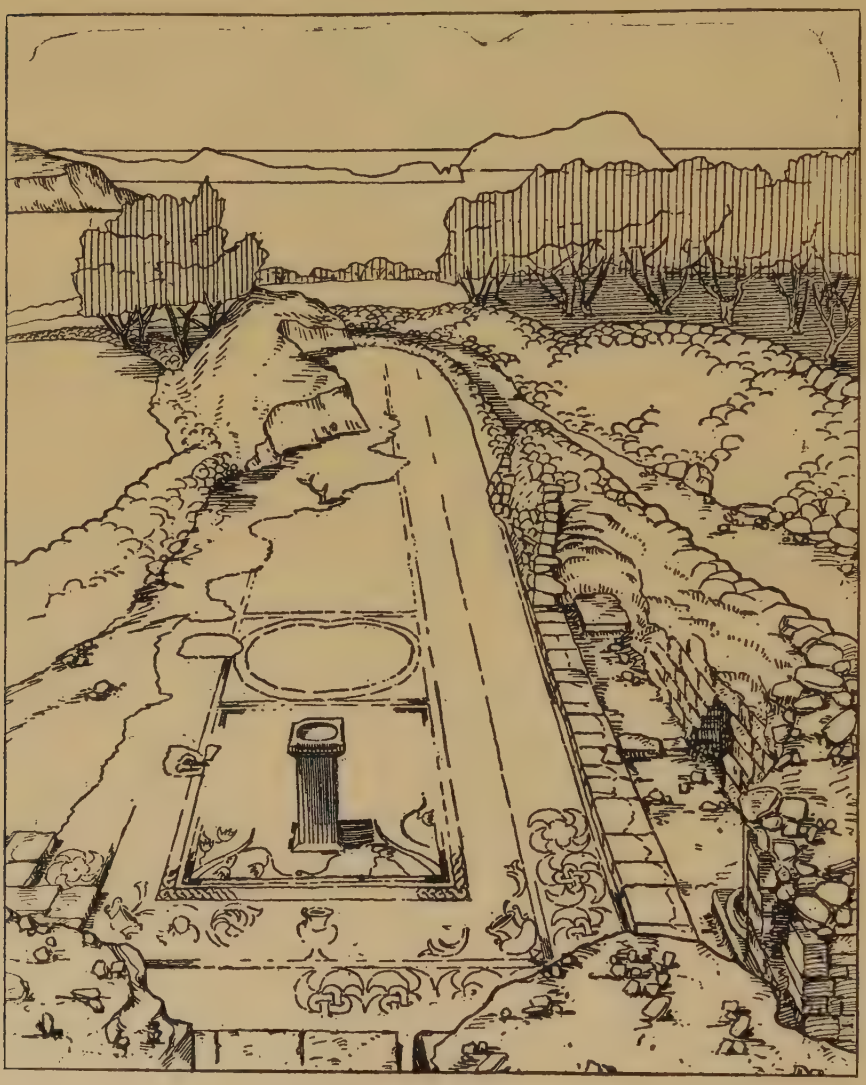

FIG. 2.—VIEW FROM THE EAST END.

apart on different sides of the central acropolis-ridge. The identity of that site with ours, which is in Tramithia [1] but not near to the theatre, is put

[1] We have usually followed Ehrenberg's map (Leipzig, 1889) in spelling the name Tramythia, but Tramithia is as near to the local pronunciation. The form *Τρεμινθία* suggests a derivation from *τρέμιθος*=*Τέρμινθος*. Steph. Byz. mentions a place called *Τρεμιθοῦς* (*v.l.* *Τρεμινθοῦς*) in

beyond a doubt by our discovery of columns of the same diameter and material as those in the Athens Museum and by the local story that parts of such columns had been sawn off and sent to Athens with other marbles from this site. An idea of the lie of the ground may be gained from Mr. Clark's sketches, figs 2 and 3, and from the key-plan on the opposite page. That part of the site which was first pointed out to us as containing a mosaic was a small field just south of a mule-path which leads from the villages on the heights to the Tramithia landing-place. Like most other fields on those highly cultivated hill-sides it is a terrace bounded by higher and lower terraces, each supported by a massive retaining wall locally called τράφος (for τάφρος). In this case there was a rising *traphos* to the east and a descending *traphos* to the south; the other sides of the rectangle were formed by the mule-road which gradually descends from the higher level of the terrace on the east to the lower level of that on the south, curving round our field and cutting off its north-west corner. The course of the road-wall and of the terrace-wall to the east is shown by the dotted lines W W on the key-plan; it was only under them that we found the mosaic in first-rate preservation. The field has a downward slope from east to west, and at the lower end the pavement had been obliterated by cultivation; further east, where there was some depth of soil to protect it, considerable injury had been caused by the recklessness of the excavators of 1861. It was then that a great part of the fish-panel was destroyed. They dug as far as the eastern terrace-wall, and seem then to have worked down from the upper field and to have penetrated as far as the door in the east wall of the Roman building; but the τράφος between the two terraces happened to be the boundary between two properties, and that fact preserved it inviolate and with it the whole panel of the vines which lay below. This belt of unknown ground had weighed on the consciences of local treasure-hunters ever since. We heard of at least two attempts to explore it. In one case the adventurers tunnelled under the road, breaking through the north wall of the Roman building, and worked along its inner face as far as the corner-column A which is still in situ. They dared not go further, fearing that the mass of stones overhead would fall in on them, and retired by the way they had come, but not before they had found a marble head. This head, which was sold to the Athens Archaeological Society in 1884 and passed with their collections into the National Museum, has since proved to belong to the statue of a hierophant which we found lying on the mosaic in 1896 (Fig. 6).

Cyprus and derives the name ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον πεφυκυιῶν τερμίνθων, ἃς Τύριοι τρεμίθους καλοῦσι. The name would be formed like that of Ραμνοῦς in Attica = Ραμνόεις from ῥάμνος. The form τρέμιθος is further attested by Nicand. Ther. 844 τρεμίθοιο νέον πολυειδέα καρπόν.

The Melian 's τὴν Τραμιθιὰ seems parallel to 's τὴν Ξυκιὰ and 's τὴν Πλάτανιὰ in the same island. For place-names in Greece derived from trees see Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, ii. p. 107. Sibthorp (*Florae Graecae Prodromus*, ii. p. 256) and Fiedler (*Reise*, i. p. 539) say that *Pistachia Terebinthus* grows abundantly in the Greek islands. Both give the modern Greek name as τετράμιθος. Mr. Bickford Smith gives τραμήθη as the Cretan form.

The Building.

We demolished the eastern terrace-wall, cleared the remains of mosaic in the lower field, and found that we had two panels and part of a third. Later Mr. Cecil Smith pulled down the wall on the north and uncovered a long strip of mosaic, which not only proved the existence of a fourth panel, but also preserved just so much of the geometric design of a fifth as enabled us to complete it and to determine the dimensions of the whole.

The building was a long hall running east and west, 8·32 m. wide and at least 23 m. long (27 ft. 4 in. × 75 ft.). The east and north walls are in great part preserved; the south wall has almost disappeared, but enough remains to justify us in restoring it on the analogy of the north; the west end is wholly destroyed. The tessellated pavement did not occupy the whole width of the hall; along either side ran a stylobate 1·50 m. broad, raised 0·27 m. (10½ inches) above the floor, supporting a row of unfluted marble columns. Of the marble slabs of the stylobate only one survives; it is under the single base which remains in position; but the dwarf walls which carried the stylobate are preserved, 14 cm. high. As for the columns, A is in place and the position of the two adjoining columns is indicated by blocks which once supported the marble slabs under their bases; they give 3·32 m. (10 ft. 10 in.) as the intercolumniation.

The exact length of the hall was not determined; this might possibly have been done by digging for the foundations of the north-west angle from the field beyond the road; but there was great risk of injuring some valuable olive-trees. We dug down at the only possible place, where there happened to be a gap in the olive-grove, and found the outer face of the north wall (at F in key-plan) under the roadway, some five feet below the level of the mosaic. This part of the wall probably dated from Hellenistic times and originally rose above ground, for it was better built than the upper part, and along its foot there was an accumulation of pottery ranging from third-century Greek to Roman. The evidence is slight, but one is inclined to infer that the Hall of the Mystae stands on the site of a Greek building, using its walls as foundations; in that case the earlier floor-level may be some feet below the mosaic. Beyond the point where we suppose the west wall to have stood the ground falls away; had the building extended further in that direction it would have required very massive substructures; but of these no trace remains. It can hardly therefore have been longer even by one intercolumniation than we have shown it in the key-plan. On the other hand the remains of the mosaic prove that it cannot have been shorter. The restoration of seven columns on each side may be regarded as fairly certain.

We were also unable to dig as far as we wished to the east. Once beyond the shelter of the thick terrace-wall we found that the whole area in the upper field had been ransacked and filled in with stones. We cleared part of the little chamber at the north-east angle and worked some feet

beyond the large door in the east wall, but there were no mosaics. As the débris was eight feet deep and difficult to handle we did not feel justified in going further for the sake of completing our plan.

It is probable that the principal entrance was at the west end, and the east doorway led from the body of the hall into a chancel-like extension, an *ἄδυτον* opening out of the *τελεστήριον*. Just such an inner sanctuary may be seen in the plan of the Baccheion, a building much like ours in date and character, excavated by Dr. Dörpfeld between the Pnyx and the Areopagus.[1] The internal arrangements of the hall are in agreement with the view that this was its principal end. Of the five mosaic panels the western is the

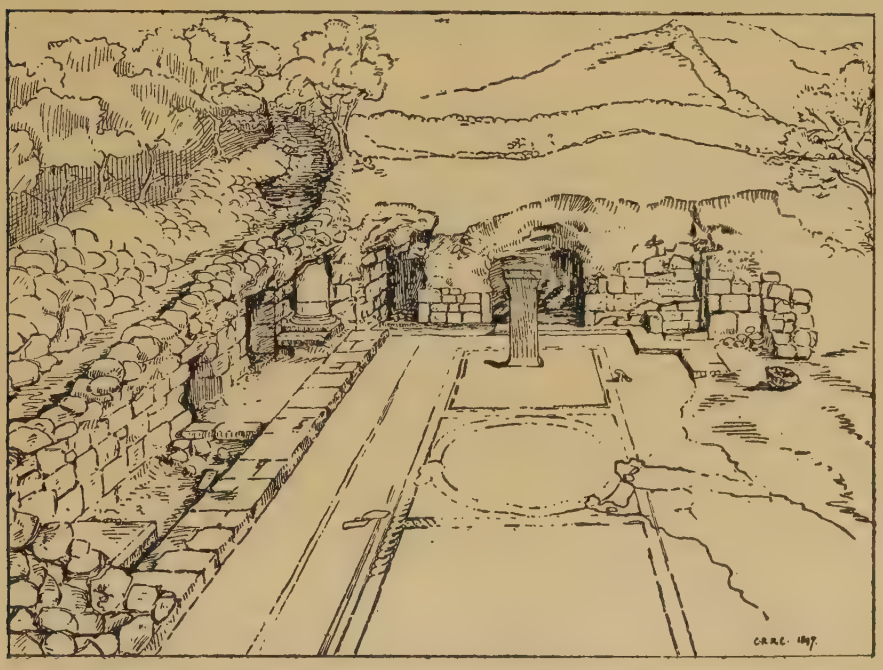

FIG. 3.—VIEW FROM THE WEST END.

simplest, the eastern the most elaborate. Close to this doorway in the south-east angle stood a square structure (D in key-plan), obviously of importance, for the outer border of the mosaic was compressed and cut short to leave room for it; it must have been a small shrine or altar.[2] In a niche on the opposite side (C on key-plan) stood in all probability the statue of a priest to be discussed later, which we found fallen on the pavement. Before giving up the idea of exploring the supposed *adytum* we sank a pit 8 m. east of the mosaic, and found fragments of a wall covered with red stucco, its floor-level being

[1] *Ath. Mitth.* xx. p. 161. Taf. iv.

[2] In position and perhaps in form it resembled the 'house-altars' of Pompeii. Cf. Overbeck, *Pompeii*, p. 268, Presuhn, *Die Neuesten Ausgrabungen*, i. Taf. iv., vi. Taf. ii.

about the same as that of the mosaic. Somewhat further east we must suppose an ancient terrace-wall; for it was at a much higher level, though only 20 m. further away, that we found the basis (Fig. 6) dedicated to Dionysos Trieterikos. The circumstances under which it was found are described in *J. H. S.* vol. xvii. p. 14. We dug round the spot, but found only some walls of Roman date, a flagged court, in the middle of which the basis stood, and a cobbled path leading towards the mosaic. It is very probable that these buildings were in some way connected with the Hall of the Mystae.

Before passing to the mosaics it may be noted that the walls of the Hall were covered with a thick coat of plaster. In demolishing the *traphos* we came upon a quantity of plaster including many fragments of mouldings.

The Pavement.

The space between the stylobates is filled by the mosaic pavement 5·35 m. (17½ ft.) wide, and as restored 22·22 m. (nearly 73 ft.) in length. The length that is preserved is 19·20 m. (63 ft.). The whole design is framed in an unusually broad triple border, 1·38 m. (4 ft. 4 in.) wide. The width of the panels is 2·67 m., just double that of the border and half that of the whole pavement.

There are five panels; the following measurements do not include the guilloche border, which is 17 cm. wide, but are taken up to its edge:

I. Vines, birds, gazelle and hare . .	3·28 × 2·67 m.
II. Fish and fisherman	2·67 × 2·67
III. Geometric	6·48 × 2·67
IV. Probably a figure-subject, destroyed .	3·07 × 2·67
V. Geometric, as restored . . .	3·28 × 2·67

It will be seen on reference to the key-plan that the places of the columns correspond broadly though not exactly with the divisions between the panels. Panel III. is twice as long as I., which again is the same length as V. The preservation of these proportions, as of those between the breadth of the panel and the border, shows how carefully the mosaic was designed for the building.

The detailed execution and technique of the Melos mosaic are admirably exhibited in the large scale drawings (Plates I., II. and III.). Glass tesserae are freely used in the birds, beasts, and fishes; all these figures are carried out with a skill that must have been the result of long experience. The glass tesserae are much smaller than the marble tesserae; the latter are usually square or nearly so at the top, while the former are of all shapes, and seem to have been chipped off from a slab of glass as they were required. They are mostly blues and greens. Mr. Henry Powell, who is an expert in modern glass-mosaic, has been so kind as to point out that these glass tesserae seem to have been translucent; some of them retain their transluc-

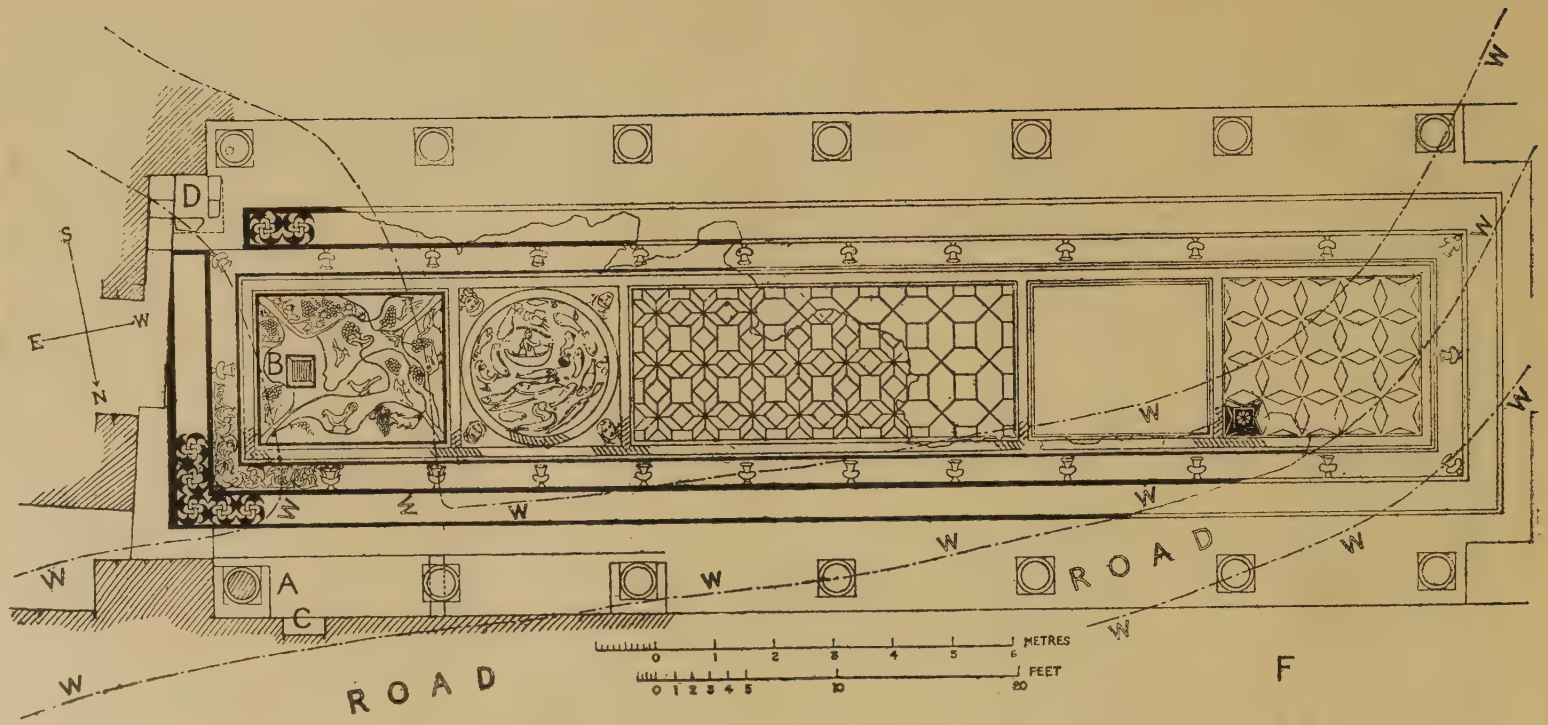

Fig. 4.—Key-Plan. W W—Modern Terrace-Walls.

A—Column *in situ*. B—Pedestal. C—Niche. D—Shrine or Altar.

ence, others have lost it owing to the action of weather. The colouring matter in the blue tesserae is cobalt, in the blue-green, copper, in the other shades of green, iron. It is difficult to say when the practice of adding arsenic or tin to make the tesserae opaque first came into use. Besides glass and marble a local material, the lustrous black obsidian, is used with great effect, especially in the long geometrical panel.

The Panel of the Vines.

The panel of the vines is the most elaborate and the best preserved (Plate I.). Mr. Clark has been wonderfully successful in reproducing its originality, its grace of design, and its rich harmonious colouring. The subject is unusual; it must have been chosen for the place of honour in the Hall as one especially appropriate to the society of Mystae and their patron-god. This special local significance may help to explain the unconventional character of the composition, its freedom and want of symmetry; it is like the work of a man who has put aside his pattern-book and is feeling his way towards a fresh design. The elements which he had to group together were familiar; the animals grapes and leaves are the work of a practised hand; but in the stiff lines and abrupt curves of the branches there is the irresolution, the hesitating touch, of an experiment. Strangest of all is the want of balance in the disposition of the birds and beasts among the foliage. The whole south-east corner is given up to grapes and leaves and tendrils with no living thing among them. The contrast must have been all the more conspicuous before the pedestal (B in key-plan) was thrust into this end of the panel; it cuts so rudely into the design that there can be no doubt of its being a later insertion. We may perhaps connect the different treatment of the south-east quarter of the panel with the shrine or altar which stood close by in the south-east angle, and suppose that even in his glowing picture of the fruitful earth, blessed with a luxuriant crop that leaves enough and to spare for bird and beast as well as man, the artist has found means to suggest the reverence due to the god and his gifts. He shows us the wild creatures gleaning, but hints that the boldest of them spares the clusters that ripen in the shadow of the god's altar. The explanation may seem fanciful; at any rate it is not unlike the fancy of the man who wrote *μόνον μὴ ὕδωρ, Give them water and they will swim*, among the fish of the adjoining panel.

I have claimed for the panel of vines a good deal of originality. Among published drawings of mosaics one looks in vain for any that closely resembles it. But its general scheme, the decoration of a rectangular panel by means of tree-like forms springing from the corners, was by no means a new one. It may be traced back to the fashion of filling the spandrils of a square panel containing a round medallion—spaces such as in our fish-panel are occupied by masks—with branches issuing from a stem or vase set diagonally in each corner; and this fashion, which appears several times at

Pompeii, was doubtless borrowed from the favourite vase-and-foliage border, of which our scroll-border with its vase at each angle is a good, though late and elaborate, example.

The nearest parallels to our design are furnished by some vine-mosaics which have come to light in North Africa. They seem to mark an earlier stage of development; the vines spring formally and symmetrically from vases placed in the angles; they are not allowed to cover the whole field, but orm a broad frame to a central picture-panel. It is as if their derivation from the scroll-border were still remembered. On the other hand the birds among the branches and the Cupids busied in gathering grapes show that the frame is in process of acquiring an independent pictorial importance. In a mosaic from the Arsenal at Sousse (Hadrumetum) just published by M. Gauckler (*Rev. Arch.* 1897, Pl. ix. p. 8 ff.) the central picture representing the Triumph of Dionysos is surrounded by a comparatively narrow frame of interlacing vines. In a magnificent design which is the principal glory of the House of the Laberii at Uthina (published by the same writer in *Monuments Piot*, Vol. iii. Pl. xx.–xxiii.) the vines have encroached much further, and the central picture has become subordinate to the animated vintage-scene. A third design of the same type, found in the baths at Kourba, forms part of the rich collection in the Bardo at Tunis. In each case the African vine-mosaics contain a central picture representing Dionysos; the omission of this feature, as well as of the angle-vases and of the Cupids gathering grapes, is in keeping with the greater simplicity of the Melian panel. That the general idea of the design was commoner than the few instances which I have collected would imply, is made probable by its wide distribution in early Christian times, when the imagery of the vine, beloved in Jewish poetry and Christian teaching, was reproduced in every branch of art. The vintage-mosaic on the ceiling of the ambulatory of Santa Costanza at Rome, a church built about the middle of the fourth century, is a good instance of a perfectly pagan design adopted for the sake of its associations.[1] The *amorini* who are plucking the grapes, leading wains and treading the wine-press, were doubtless felt to be incongruous in a church; they do not appear in the later vine-mosaics. Rather the Christian significance of the design is set beyond doubt by some such inscription as that of a mosaic-paved apse at Ancona in which every leaf has the form of a cross—*Vinea facta est dilecta in cornum in loco uberi.*[2]

It is in keeping with the relatively late date of the Hall of the Mystae that the panel of the vines finds its closest parallel in the pavement of a Christian basilica. The same symbolism is Dionysiac in the one case, Christian in the other. The design is essentially the same, and it is difficult to believe that the interval of time between the two can be much more than

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[1] De Rossi, *Musaici cristiani*, xvii., xviii. A coloured paper cast and a coloured drawing by Zeri are exhibited in the South Kensington Museum.

[2] A variant from the Vulgate of Isaiah v. 1. *Bull. crist.* 1879. Taf. ix., x. Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, i. p. 298.

a century. The pavement which so closely resembles ours is that of the church at Orléansville in Algeria; an inscription which forms part of the mosaic shows that the building was begun in 324 and completed before 340.[1]

It is commonly said that in the early Christian centuries the use of mosaic pavements diminished, and mosaic work was almost confined to walls and ceilings. Of late years however a surprising number of Christian mosaic pavements have been discovered in Syria and Palestine. Several of them have the spreading vine pattern. The best known instance is the pavement of a church discovered by Renan's expedition at Kabr-Hiram near Tyre and afterwards transported to the Louvre.[2] The general design recalls the African mosaics published by Gauckler; four vines spring from vases placed in the corners of an oblong panel; their branches however are quite formally arranged so as to encircle a series of medallions placed in rows of five across the design. An inscription fixes the date of the pavement according to Renan's interpretation at 575 A.D., in the reign of Justin II. De Rossi ascribed the vine-panel on the ground of its style to the fourth century, but later discoveries seem to confirm Renan's conclusion. In particular two mosaics of this type have been found at Jerusalem, one on the Mount of Olives in 1871, the other outside the Damascus gate in 1894.[3] Both bear Armenian inscriptions; the former can be dated with comparative certainty to the middle of the sixth century; while the latter, as Mr. A. S. Murray has pointed out, though retaining much of the refinement of classical work, may well belong to the vigorous art of the age of Justinian. A simpler mosaic from Medaba in Moab (*Pal. Fund Quarterly*, 1895, p. 207) resembles the older type in having a single medallion containing a head as the centre towards which the diagonally placed trees converge.

Our Melian vine-panel seems to be a link, geographical as well as chronological, between the two main groups of similar designs; those from North Africa, which are at their best in the second and third centuries, and those of Palestine which seem to date from the fifth and sixth of our era. In Africa as elsewhere there has been a tendency to place the decline of mosaic-work too early; a study of the mosaics from Carthage in the British Museum shows that good work was done there long after the time of the Antonines, and the same view is maintained by M. de la Blanchère (*Collections du Musée Alaoui*, 1890, p. 17 ff.) in publishing the spirited groups of race-horses from Hadrumetum which he assigns to the fourth century.[4] There is a rich field for investigation alike in Africa

[1] *Rev. Arch.* iv. (1847), Pl. 78, p. 661. Traces of a fish-panel were found in the same church. This juxtaposition of earth and sea, conventional in pre-Christian mosaic, and retained perhaps because to the Christian the fish as well as the vine had a mystic meaning, is seen in other early basilicas of North Africa, *e.g.* at Tipasa, *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* tom. xiv., and at Sertei, *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi*, p. 345.

[2] Renan, *Mission de la Phénicie*, Pl. xlix. p. 607.

[3] Photograph in *Quarterly Statement* of Palestine Fund, 1894, p. 261. Cf. Mr. A. S. Murray's note, *ib.* 1895, p. 126.

[4] To the fourth century too the British Museum authorities ascribe the Carthage pavement of the Months. Its decorative design of cypress-like trees growing in vases and converging towards the centre is a very beautiful develop-

and in Palestine, and for the present it would be premature to do more than indicate the general relationship of the two groups of designs. It must be remembered that they are not likely to have been the exclusive property of mosaic-workers, who often borrowed and adapted the ideas of wall-painters and modellers in plaster.[1] Mr. Cecil Smith has already hinted at the possible influence of similar textile patterns in comparing the Melos vine-panel to some of the older Persian carpets.[2] The tree with birds in its branches, springing sometimes from a kantharos-like pot, sometimes from a mound of earth, is a favourite subject in woven stuffs and embroideries in Persia, India and even China.

The birds are for the most part conventional, always excepting the cock (Pl. III.). The gazelle (Pl. II.) was perhaps intended to represent the wild goat of the Cyclades, which still survives on Anti-milo; but the figure which the ψηφοθέτης chose from his pattern-book was certainly drawn from a North-African gazelle—a striking proof of the North-African influence which we have already had reason to suspect. It may be compared with a reclining gazelle which is represented eating grapes from a basket on the Sousse Arsenal mosaic. The crouching hare of our panel finds a parallel in the same part of Africa.[3]

The Panel of Fish (Plate I.).

To the picture of fruitful earth succeeds one representing the harvest of the sea. It is less elaborate than some of the fish-mosaics in the Naples Museum which seem to present a side-view of a tank or a section taken through the sea, with the surface marked by a line near the top of the picture and fish swimming to and fro in the green water: and less ambitious than the great floors representing the Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite which have been found in the provinces. In Roman Africa pavements representing fishing scenes were often the appropriate ornament of an *impluvium*. The inherent qualities of glass-mosaic are so well adapted to depict the gleaming scales and iridescent colouring of fish that the subject became increasingly popular.

Just as in the preceding panel the principal figures are placed upon the north side of the hall, so here the position of the fisherman and the motto over his head presuppose that the spectator stands on that side. But this also is a decorative composition, not a realistic picture, and is meant to be intelligible from whatever point of view it is seen. The throng of darting

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ment of the older tree-patterns. *Archaeologia*, xxxviii. Pl. ix.–xiii. It was originally planned for a dome rather than a floor. Cf. Garrucci, *Arte cristiana*, iv. Tav. 255.

[1] The ceiling-mosaics in the side-chapels of S. George at Salonica imitate not only the painted coffers but also the cornice-mouldings of late classical architecture. Texier and Pullan, Pl. xxxiv.

[2] Compare a tile-work design of vines, grapes and birds from 'the south gate of the Tope Maidan, Teheran, 17th cent.' reproduced in the Cross Gallery of the South Kensington Museum.

[3] De la Blanchère, *Musée Alaoui*, p. 25.

fish follows the circular frame in an endless wheeling movement, for which a fixed centre is supplied by the absurdly disproportionate figure of the little fisherman perched in their midst.[1] Owing to the injuries done to the panel by previous excavators no part of the boat remains; Mr. Clark has restored it on the analogy of many similar mosaics, making the boat nearly as disproportionate to the man as he is to the fish. One could imagine him fishing from a rock like three fishermen figured on a silver patera from the coast of Algeria[2]; but this would be unusual in a mosaic. The boat on Plate I. is sketched in from the fish-panel at Sousse, a picture which furnishes a vivid illustration of a passage in Aelian describing the four methods of fishing: δικτυεία or netting, κόντωσις or spearing, κυρτεία or catching by means of the κύρτη (Latin *nassa*), a basket-trap like our "weels" and "eel-bucks," and ἀγκιστρεία or angling with hook and line.[3] Of the four methods Aelian considered line-fishing the most sportsmanlike, and trapping the least worthy of a free man. The Sousse mosaic when it was complete had a boat in each corner; in one the fisherman is striking a fish with a trident, in another he is about to cast a net, in a third he holds a cord to which three bottle-shaped basket-traps are attached; the fourth corner, in which ἀγκιστρεία was doubtless represented, has been destroyed. The fisherman on the Melian panel holds a rope, the loose end of which passes under his left arm, but we have no means of deciding what was at the end of it. Like other boatmen from Charon upon the *lekythoi* onwards he wears the *chiton exomis*.

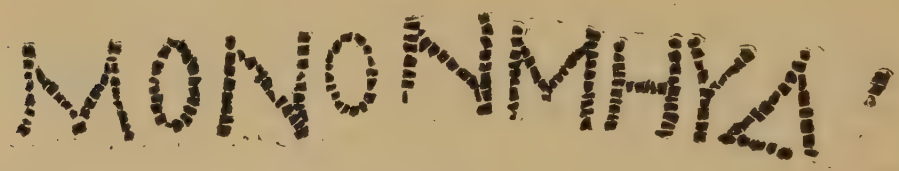

Fig. 5.

The words μόνον μὴ ὕδωρ picked out in black tesserae on the white ground above the fisherman's head (Fig. 5) have been happily explained by Dr. Sandys, who compares them with Martial's Epigram I. xxxv.

> Artis Phidiacae toreuma clarum,
> Pisces adspicis; adde aquam, natabunt.

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[1] The idea of fish swimming in a circle is used with equal effect, as Mr. Cecil Smith points out, on a series of red-figured plates from South Italy, among the latest examples of Graeco-Italian painted pottery, which were probably intended to be used as fish-plates at table. *Brit. Mus. Vase Catal.* F. 259 ff.

[2] Found between Tipasa and Cherchel. *Bulletin Archéol. de la Comité des Travaux Historiques*, 1893, Pl. x.

[3] Aelian, *N.A.* xii. 43. M. Gauckler does not mention the passage. I am in many ways indebted to his full and interesting essays on the mosaics from Sousse (*Rev. Arch.* 1897, (2), pp. 8–22; fishing-scene, Pl. xi.) and Oudna (*Monuments Piot*, iii. pp. 177–229; fishing-scene, p. 198). In Plato's *Sophist* the art of fishing is resolved into ἐρκοθηρική, τριοδοντία, and ἀσπαλιευτική.

Martial is describing a chased silver bowl, an old piece of Greek plate; when it was filled, the fish with which the interior was decorated appeared to swim, just as the ships painted in certain black-figured kylikes floated when they were filled with wine.

In compressing some such epigram into three words the artist has made the point a little obscure. His self-praise was certainly justified during our excavations by the expert criticisms of local fishermen. They readily recognised and named most of the fish, and were never tired of admiring the life-like play of light and colour on the scales. One detail baffled them as well as ourselves—the globular object with a slender neck to the right of the fisherman. It looks like nothing so much as a gourd-shaped glass bottle, three parts full of dark-blue liquid, the upper part being empty and transparent; but this does not correspond with any known kind of fishing-appliance; neither a *κύρτη* nor a gourd-float would be transparent; so we are constrained to suppose that it represents some marine creature. The name *πῖνα* (classical *πίννα*, a bearded mussel) was proposed and rejected.

The Geometric Panels and Border.

The two geometric panels are typical specimens of Roman provincial mosaic. They are not original compositions like the two preceding panels, but stock designs. In skeleton, as is shown on the key-plan (Fig. 4), they are based on different systems of intersecting octagons, such as any one experimenting with regular geometric design must inevitably discover. In the case of the long panel the intersecting sides of the octagons bisect one another, and divide each octagon into a square and four hexagons. The next step is to subdivide each hexagon into a square and four rhomboids. By this device the original octagonal planning is effectually masked, and a cross-like form made up of eight rhomboids becomes the predominant feature of the design. In this form the pattern appears at Pompeii; it is increasingly common in the provinces during the second and third centuries.

The design of the western panel, where the octagons intersect at their angles, is at no time so common as the other, and is hardly found before the third century. Almost the only building, besides the Hall of the Mystae, where these two patterns occur together, is the somewhat late British villa of Weldon in Northamptonshire.[1]

The character of the border is a further evidence of late date. The *swastika*-like wheel-pattern is very common in the later floors of Britain, Gaul, and Germany. The florid scrolls of the vase-and-foliage border find parallels in Christian rather than classical mosaic; and the proportion (1 : 4) of the width of the border to that of the whole mosaic is characteristic of corridor-pavements in the third and fourth centuries A.D.[2]

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[1] Lysons, *Rel. Brit. Rom.* I., Pt. ii., Pl. vii.

[2] *E.g.* at Silchester, *Archaeologia*, lv. p. 241, and at Halicarnassus, Newton, *Hist. Discoveries*, Pl. 41. The latter can hardly be earlier than the 4th century.

The Sculpture and Inscriptions.

The clue to the identification of the building had already been given by the basis dedicated to Dionysos Trieterikos (Fig. 7 below) when in demolishing the great *traphos* we came upon a headless statue which proved to be a portrait-herm of a hierophant, Marcus Marius Trophimus, set up by the Mystae (Fig. 6). One of our workmen had previously told us of a head

Fig. 6.—Statue of Hierophant. Height 1·80 m.

which he had found in the same part of the building, and his description of its beard and wreath enabled us upon our return to identify it with an unpublished head which is thus described in Cavvadias' Catalogue of the Athens Museum: '329. Portrait-head of a man wearing a wreath, with a short beard and moustache and curly hair; small life-size; work of Roman times. Found in Melos, and bought by the Archaeological Society in 1884. Eye-brows and pupils indicated. End of nose broken. Parian marble?

Mr. Cecil Smith has since taken a cast from the neck of the head in Athens, and tried it upon the herm in Melos; the two were found to join accurately at the back of the neck; in front the surfaces had been chipped and did not meet, but the identification was quite satisfactory. The marble of both head and body is singularly white even for Parian.

The statue represents—or will, when head and body are united—a middle-aged man with broad face, full cheeks, curly hair, and clipped beard. The wreath on his head is of ivy and flowers, a wreath such as Dionysos often wears. He is dressed in a chiton which is girt up above the knee with a deep fold falling over and concealing the girdle, a nebris confined by a broad belt and passing over the left shoulder, and a mantle. Part of the mantle is brought forward and thrown over the right fore-arm, so as to provide the starting-point of a *puntello* to support the right hand; the stump of it is seen on the drapery below the break in the arm. The right hand was found, and when it is readjusted the arm will be complete but for some of the fingers; there is evidence that the hand held a curved vase, phiale or kantharos. No part of the left arm, which is broken above the elbow, was discovered. It was sharply bent, and the hand was raised nearly to shoulder level and probably held some heavy attribute such as a thyrsos, to judge from the stump of a cross-support which projects from the upper arm.

In accordance with a custom of ancient and more especially Oriental religion the priest is here represented in the character of the god. There are several much-restored copies of a statue which represented Dionysos as wearing a girt-up chiton, a nebris confined by a belt, a mantle, and long hunting-boots.[1] The figure is usually restored as holding a kantharos in the right hand, and a thyrsos in the outstretched left; the left arm rests on the head of an archaic idol. The type was known in the Cyclades; it appears on a late Greek silver coin of Andros (*B. M. Catalogue*, Crete and Aegean Islands p. 86, No. 2, Plate XX. 10). The obverse is 'Head of young Dionysos r., his hair long and wreathed with ivy,' like that of our statue: reverse 'ΑΝΔΡ[ΙΩΝ] youthful male figure (Dionysos) l., wearing short chiton; his r. is extended down above a tripod, his left is placed on the top of thyrsos (?)'; I have examined the coin itself and thought that I recognised a nebris passing over the shoulder. There was a famous temple of Dionysos in Andros, containing a fountain which ran wine at the festival called Θεοδαίσια; the figure on the coin probably reproduces the temple-statue. It recalls Callistratos' description of a bronze Dionysos by Praxiteles, which wore an ivy-wreath and a nebris and held a thyrsos in the left hand. The Deepdene statue is decidedly Praxitelean,[2] and may be directly related to the type which was worshipped in Andros and was adopted, as the attire and attitude of the Hierophant prove, by the Ἱεροὶ Μύσται of Melos.

[1] Clarac, Vol. IV. Pl. 695, Figs. 1614, 1615. The former, at Deepdene, = Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 280. For other instances of the type, see Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, p. 1133 (*Dionysos in Art*, by Thrämer). A pardalis sometimes takes the place of the nebris. In our figure the artist has compromised: the hoofs are cloven, but the mask is a panther's.

[2] Cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 323, 5.

The lower part of the figure consists of a plain shaft, on which the inscription is cut, and a larger base meant to fit into a pavement. The back and sides of this base are for the most part left rough, which accords with the supposition that the herm stood in the niche (C in key-plan) near which it was found. In front the smoothly dressed surface shows where the base met the marble stylobate. Three akanthos leaves spring from the pavement-level and clothe the foot of the shaft.

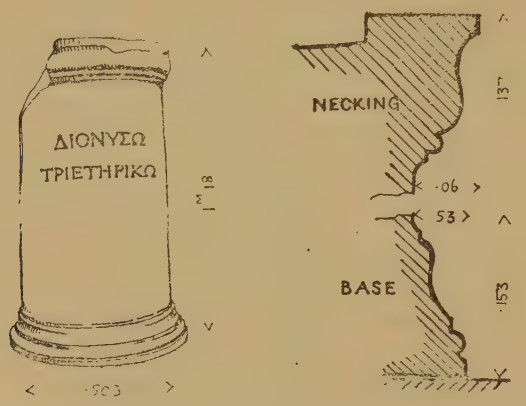

Fig. 7.—Marble Basis.

The inscription, which in the forms of its careful deep-cut lettering resembles that on the Dionysos Trieterikos basis (Fig. 7), cannot be much later than the end of the second century; on the other hand the coarse and ugly workmanship of the hierophant and the mouldings on the basis make it difficult to date either of them as early as Hadrian's time. Both may be older than the Hall of the Mystae; at any rate the niche looks as if it had been built to accommodate the herm.

A later group of inscriptions, in which ⊏ and Ϣ are used for Σ and Ω, consists of the prayers to Athene and the Fortune of Melos incised on two columns of the Hall, and the dedication on the bust of Aurelia Euposia (Fig. 8). To these we may perhaps add the inscription on the mosaic (Fig. 5 above), which seems to have had Ϣ in the last word. The poor style of the bust, in particular the clumsy lines of its rectangular pedestal, and the rudeness of the sculpturings on the columns mark a further style of degradation; they may belong to the early part of the third century, when the names Aurelius and Aurelia were very common. The phrase *ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς ἔργῳ* implies that the Hall or some part of it had been built or restored at the expense of this Aurelia Euposia. We have already seen reason, on grounds of style, to assign the mosaic to the first part of the third century. It may have formed part of the *ἔργον* in question. Alexander, who on the column-inscriptions is called *κτίστης* of the Mystae (Fig. 1), must have earned this honorary title by some similar benefaction; it is not necessary to suppose

that he was the original founder of the Society. His appeals to the favour of Athene and Tyche, the guardian-goddesses who appear on the Roman coinage of the island, suggest that the cult of Dionysos Trieterikos had been newly introduced and might arouse the jealousy of the older divinities;[1] and the fact that these appeals were incised in a prominent position on columns of the Hall may mean that he was responsible for the building.

With regard to the style and date of the three heads found upon our site (Cavvadias, *Catalogue*, 329, 424, 459) Mr. Crowfoot, who has made a special study of portrait-sculpture, writes to me from Athens as follows:—

Fig. 8.—Bust of Aurelia Euposia.

'These heads all seem to belong to the same period, the early decades of the third century A.D. The close-cut hair of the boy is similar to that

[1] The worship of Athene, as the very archaic character of the xoanon on coin and column-relief shows, was much older than that of the Tyche of Melos. But the latter patriotic cult may have been established as early as the 4th century B.C., by the remnant of the old population whom Lysander sent back. Cf. the Tyche made by Praxiteles for Megara, and his 'Bona Fortuna,' which was at Rome when Pliny wrote. The people of Antioch were doubtless following an established fashion when they set up a statue of the Fortune of their city early in the 3rd century. See Wolters' article in *Ath. Mitth.* xv. For the Melian type of Tyche bearing the infant Plutus, cf. the statue at Thebes, Paus. ix. 16, 1.

worn by Alexander Severus and his successors, and the short curls of the hierophant to those of the emperors at the beginning of the century. The coiffure of Aurelia may be related to some of the fashions which prevailed in Rome during the second quarter of the same century, or may be a modification of an earlier fashion, set perhaps by Julia Domna. (It would obviously be rash to say that the Melian ladies were always successful in copying the short-lived fashions of the capital.) Such a date suits the style perfectly. The bust of Aurelia is the rudest, but all three are as good as most contemporary Athenian works. The surface is polished and the eyebrows not raised but incised; in both points this is a contrast with the treatment usual at Athens about the middle of this century, of which we have a dated example in the Kosmete, No. 388 (Archonship of Kasianos, 236 or 245 A.D. Cf. Dumont, *Sur l'Ephébie attique*, I. p. 247). The Melian works are at least successful in portraying distinct characters, and are interesting, therefore, for the light which they throw upon "certain people of importance in their day." The sour face of the hierophant is hardly more attractive than the lady's expression of obstinate bigotry; combined they are sure evidence of the psychological atmosphere of the third century, and differ strikingly from the air of *blasé* refinement which is dominant among the Antonines.'

To the inscriptions already published may be added a mason's mark

ΦΙΑ

cut on the top of a column-drum at the S.E. angle.

The Society of Mystae.

Associations of worshippers of particular deities had been common in Greece since the fourth century B.C. under the name of *ὀργεῶνες*, *θιασῶται*, or *ἐρανισταί*.[1] The Mystae of Dionysos Trieterikos may be compared with a number of other Dionysiac societies, calling themselves *οἱ Μύσται*, which flourished especially in Asia Minor and Thrace during the second and third centuries A.D. We find them at Smyrna (with a cult of Dionysos *Βρεισεύς*), Ephesus (cult of Demeter and Dionysos *Φλέως*), Teos (Dionysos *Σηταίνειος*), Magnesia on the Maeander, Seleucia in Cilicia (D. *Ἀρχίβακχος*), in Western Thrace (D. *Βότρυς*), and at Apollonia on the Black Sea. They had much in common with the associations called *οἱ Βάκχοι* and *τὸ Βακχεῖον*, which existed in the period at Athens, Megara, Cnidos, Cyzicos, Perinthos, Thasos, and Tomi. Our knowledge of both groups of societies is derived from inscriptions, of which the most important is one found at Athens which contains the statutes of the Iobacchi and the minutes of one of their meetings.[2] This curious document gives the most minute information about the

[1] The inscriptions relating to these and other associations among the Greeks have been collected by Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, Leipsic 1896. The facts which follow are drawn in the main from this work and from Foucart's *Associations religieuses*.

[2] Published by S. Wide, *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 257, and by E. Maass, with fuller commentary, *Orpheus*, p. 18.

constitution and procedure of a Bacchic society, the election of members, entrance-fees and subscriptions, the duties of the officers, the meetings at which the members drank wine in the Society's banqueting hall, and the strict rules which were found necessary for the preservation of order.

The Mystae of Melos honoured their hierophant with a portrait-statue. About the same time, early in the third century, *τὸ ἱερώτατον νέον* Βάκχιον of Thasos paid a similar compliment to their hierophant. We also hear of a hierophant in connection with the Mystae of Ephesus and of Magnesia. The fact that at Cyzicos the names of the hierophant and the *μυστάρχης*, followed by those of the Mystae, appear in a list of public officers, shows that there at any rate they occupied a prominent position. The officers and many of the members of these societies were persons of good birth and standing. In many cases women were admitted to membership and to office. The *βάκχοι* of Tomi are called *Πασοῦς ἱερὸς θίασος*, apparently after their foundress. There is nothing unlikely in the assumption that the rich lady whose *ἔργον* is mentioned on her bust (Fig. 8) was a member or even an officer of the Melian Mystae.

The inscription on that bust raises a new point of some interest; it reveals the existence within the society of a body called *οἱ περιβώμιοι*. We might suppose that these were members who had attained a higher stage of initiation, privileged perhaps to take part in some sacrifice or choric dance *περὶ βωμόν*. But the inscriptions which give so full an account of the organisation of these societies say nothing of such a subdivision. On the other hand we find constant mention of a throng of functionaries, who bear a great variety of names. The Iobacchi had six officials, the Mystae of Magnesia five. The *Βουκόλοι*, a Bacchic society of Pergamon, had an *ἀρχιβούκολος*, a secretary, two singing-masters, three Sileni and a choragos.[1] The height of extravagance is reached by the Mystae of Apollonia on the Black Sea, whose eight officers bear names suggestive of the cult of Zagreus and of the Trieteric festival that was celebrated on Parnassus and Cithaeron and in Crete. The Mystae of Dionysos Trieterikos in Melos may also have had their *λικναφόρος* and *κρατηρίαρχος*, their *ἀρχιβασσάρα* and *κισταφόρος*. By *οἱ περιβώμιοι* we should probably understand the whole body of officers. This interpretation may help to explain the only passage where the word occurs in classical literature. Juvenal (ii. 16) describes a man of infamous life, evidently a well-known character, under the name of Peribomius. There is a scholion, *Peribomius: nomen archigalli.* If the person referred to was a priest of Cybele, and if, as our inscription suggests, *περιβώμιος* was a general title for the functionaries attached to Asiatic cults, the name chosen by the satirist conveys just the discreet hint which might be expected.

The discovery of the hall in which the Mystae held their meetings is an

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[1] The twelve priests mentioned as conducting a Dionysiac festival in Patmos, in a passage quoted by Maass, *Orpheus*, p. 52, from the *Acts of John*, were probably the officers of an association of *μύσται* or *βάκχοι*. This description by a hostile writer shows us a Bacchic society at its worst, just as the rules of the Iobacchi show one at its best.

important addition to our knowledge of these associations. Such halls are mentioned in inscriptions under the names *οἰκία*, *οἶκος*, or *ἱερόν*. Its resemblance in general plan to the Hall of the Iobacchi at Athens (p. 65, note 1) confirms the view already expressed as to the similar character of the societies of *μύσται* and *βάκχοι*.

The building remained in use for a considerable time, so long that in several places the mosaic became worn; instead of being repaired or renewed it was roughly patched with bits of marble wall-lining. Judging from the fact that on Roman provincial sites it is not uncommon to find traces of three or more tessellated pavements one above another, we may estimate the probable life-time of such a floor at from 100 to 150 years. There is no reason to suppose that the building was ever converted to other uses; had that been the case the statue of the hierophant would not have remained unmolested in its niche, still less have been left in fragments on the floor. It looks as if in the course of the fourth century the meeting-place of the Mystae was first neglected, then deserted, lastly stripped of its marble fittings. The removal of the stylobate slabs which formed its socket would naturally occasion the fall of the statue; it was pushed on to the pavement and lay there, broken by careless hands, but not mutilated by the spite of fanatics as were the torsos discovered in the Three Churches excavation (*J. H. S.* xvii. p. 131). Later the collapse of the roof buried it in fallen plaster. Last of all the construction upon the ruins of a broad cultivation-terrace preserved to our own day both the statue and the finest part of the pavement.

The head and body of the hierophant are still separated. It is to be hoped that the authorities of the Athens Museum will not neglect the opportunity of securing the body, which remains at Melos in the warehouse of the proprietor of the site. By so doing they will double the value of the head which they already possess and add to their collection a new type of the highest interest.

I have to thank Mr. Duncan Mackenzie, my colleague in the excavation, for a number of valuable suggestions.

R. C. Bosanquet.

A SUMMER IN PHRYGIA: II.

[PLATES IV., V.]

THE PHRYGO-LYDIAN FRONTIER.

AFTER exploring the north side of the Lycos valley, and before proceeding down the right bank of the Maeander towards Ortakche (see Part I. *init.*), we spent a short time in the Phrygo-Lydian borderland, seeking for some evidence to clear up the uncertainties attaching to the situation of Sala, Tralla, Aetos, Kallatebos, and Apollonos-Hieron. (See Plate IV.)

In discussing this district, I enjoy the advantage of having before me the work of three previous explorers, Prof. Ramsay,[1] Prof. Radet, and the late Dr. Karl Buresch. I have been careful to quote the opinions of these critics, though I must sometimes differ from them, because it is convenient for the reader to have before him all the views that are, or have been, held in regard to each town. Amid a few differences, I find myself in general agreement with Prof. Ramsay and Dr. Buresch. In the development of their views from the earliest to the latest stage there is, happily, a steady approximation towards the same results[2]; and yet, by a strange accident, this approximation was quite unconscious, for Dr. Buresch knew only Prof. Ramsay's earliest views, while Prof. Ramsay in his latest work had only a very imperfect knowledge of Dr. Buresch's earliest opinions.[3] I regret that I am obliged to differ more widely from the results reached by M. Radet, and, as some readers might put a wrong construction on such expressions of dissent, I would here record my appreciation of the value of his fresh and suggestive work. When a subject is in process of growth, every suggestion and every fresh point of view are valuable, and it is only by due consideration and open criticism of all proposed combinations that we can cherish the hope of ultimately reaching, or approximating to, the truth.

SALA.—Starting from a point opposite Tripolis, we proposed to keep along the left bank of the Maeander towards Tchindere keui, and then cross

[1] The obligations expressed to Prof. Ramsay in Part I. have to be repeated here.

[2] This is the more striking when we consider that Prof. Ramsay had explored only the fringes of this district.

[3] We may take as an example the case of Mysotimolos. Buresch at first rejected Ramsay's view in the strongest terms, but recently he has come to regard it as 'auf richtigem Wege' (*Reiseber.*, p. 103 = *Aus Lydien*, p. 201): only he would place the town nearer Blaundos, while Ramsay in the meantime has also found reason to bring it nearer Blaundos (*CB.* vol. ii.). Again, in regard to Apollonos Hieron their earliest views differed greatly, while they are now (as we shall see) practically agreed.

over to Geune. A few minutes ride brought us opposite the hot springs (*Ilidja*), mentioned by Arundel[1] and Hamilton,[2] which are built over in the conventional Turkish style, and used as a *hammam* (bath). In half an hour more we came to another very hot spring (likewise on the right bank), which has formed around itself a rocky incrustation, over which the water flows down into the river. About this point we entered the great gorge in the Mossyna mountains, through which the Maeander forces its way amid picturesque scenery into the low-lying valley of the Lycos, and we travelled up and down its steep sides for nearly two hours to Dere keui[3] (850 ft. above the Lycos valley), and thence for two hours more to Tchindere keui (1100 ft. higher), near which we copied inscr. 14. On the opposite side of the cañon, almost on the same level as Tchindere keui, lies the large village Geune, a governmental centre, and seat of a *mudur*. Our chief object at Geune was to find and examine the extensive ruins seen by Hamilton east of the village, between it and the Maeander. 'While crossing this flat country,' he says (II. 371), 'my attention was arrested by several square blocks of stone in the fields on the right; and on proceeding to examine them I found myself on the site of an ancient city. The ground and walls between the enclosures contained many similar blocks, some of which were still *in situ*, others were pedestals, but without inscriptions, while broken pottery and tiles lay scattered about in all directions. The most remarkable feature was what may be called a street of tombs, extending in a north by east direction from the town. All of them had been much injured, but the foundations of many were still perfect. The whole area of the city had been ploughed over, but the remains of walls of houses and other buildings were everywhere visible. . . . A little to the south-west of the tombs were the foundations of a small building, with several broken columns five or six feet high still *in situ*. . . . The ruins extended on both sides of the road, and were in places much overgrown with vegetation. . . . The Turks call them Kepejik. . . .' Arrived at Geune, we naturally expected to have no difficulty in finding a guide to show us these ruins, which were so conspicuous in 1837; but no one in the village seemed to know anything about them. This extraordinary fact is confirmed by the experience of the late Dr. Buresch, who visited Geune some years ago[4] but failed, notwithstanding the assistance of the 'courteous *mudur*,' to discover any one who knew anything whatsoever about the existence of Hamilton's city. Unable in the poor state of his health to undertake the task of searching for a site which was unknown to the natives, he naturally concluded, that 'like numberless other ancient towns, it had vanished from the face of the earth.'[5] Such, however, is not the case. When we set out

[1] *The Seven Churches*, p. 227.

[2] *Researches* i. p. 526.

[3] Not Dede keui, as in *CB.* i. p. 194.

[4] At Geune I heard of the previous visit of an archaeologist whom I inferred to be Dr. Buresch, but unfortunately I had not seen his *Reisebericht*, which appeared in *Ber. der Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1894, p. 88–128, and has been reprinted in the full account of his researches, *Aus Lydien, epigraphisch-geographische Reisefrüchte hinterlassen von Karl Buresch* (published just as this paper was going to press). I have added references to the latter.

[5] *Aber ich glaube versichern zu dürfen, dass sie wie ungezählte andre vom Erdboden verschwunden ist*, p. 108 (=*Aus Lydien*, p. 205).

in despair to search for the ruins, we found that they were not unknown to some of the peasants in the fields, and though nothing would induce them to leave their work and show us the spot, we ultimately discovered the site just where Hamilton placed it, on the level plateau fully three miles east of Geune. The ruins have become much more ruinous since Hamilton's visit. The stones have been thrown into ignominious heaps to make room for vineyards and cornfields, or used to build huts and outhouses; yet a few blocks still remain *in situ*, and the foundations of a large rectangular building (with portions of one or two courses of stones) are still visible. The 'street of tombs' has entirely disappeared, but some fragments of columns and innumerable squared blocks extending over a large area on both sides of the road attest a city of considerable size. Not a single inscription is to be seen; Hamilton found none when the ruins were more numerous and better preserved, and our search of two hours resulted in nothing but the discovery of the 'Constantinian' monogram within a circle, neatly carved in relief on the end of a large rectangular block.

Without excavation we cannot hope for documentary evidence to fix the name of this city.[1] But the choice is small: it must be either Sala or Tralla. Now Sala was the more important of the two, and these ruins are by far the most imposing of the unidentified ruins which exist in this district. Moreover, as Prof. Ramsay points out (*CB.* i. p. 179), Sala, like Blaundos, is assigned to Phrygia by Ptolemy (v. 2, 27) and by numismatists, to Lydia by the *Notitiae*: hence both towns must be looked for in the same direction, and no site west of the road (or on the road) from Tripolis to Sardis could possibly be assigned to Phrygia. These considerations lead us to adopt the opinion of Prof. Ramsay (*l.c.*) and Dr. Buresch[2] that the site is to be identified with Sala. The perfectly defenceless character of the site, which may be compared with Bria (see Part I. p. 415), suits the view expressed in *CB.* p. 179 that it was a Pergamenian foundation established as a counterpoise to the Seleucid city Blaundos.[3] Prof. Radet places Tralla here, as Prof. Ramsay did in his first essay; Sala he puts far away at Göbek (*En Phrygie*, pp. 107–109).

Aetos[4].—Αετός, a place of importance in the Middle Ages, is mentioned by Nicetas in his account of the march of Frederick Barbarossa (1190 A.D.) from Philadelpheia to Laodiccia by way of Tripolis,[5] and also in the *Notitiae* where it is conjoined in one bishopric with Apollonos-Hieron.[6] Tomaschek has acutely pointed out that the modern village Aïdos[7] on the upper waters

[1] Some evidence might be found if all the blocks could be turned over and examined: but our efforts were unrewarded.

[2] *In Anbetracht ihrer Bedeutung bin ich . . geneigt in ihr Sala zu erkennen* (*Reiseb.* p. 108 = *Aus Lyd.* p. 205).

[3] The Epirote name ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ occurs on its coins (cp. Part I. p. 408). Hamilton could find no traces of fortification (II. p. 371).

[4] Cp. *Hist. Geog.* p. 124, *CB.* I. pp. 194, 197, etc.

[5] Nic. Chon. p. 539 ed. Bonn: διὰ τοῦ Αετοῦ χώρου λεγομένου πορευθέντες, which means that Frederick marched *through its territory* (not necessarily through the town).

[6] *Not.* X. 232 and XIII. 92, ed. Parthey and Pinder.

[7] Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. von Klein Asien im Mittelalter*, p. 98. He falls into error, however, when he says 'der antike Name von Αετὸς war Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν (Not. ep.),' misunderstanding the meaning of ἤτοι. Aïdos is

of the Kogamis, two hours WSW. of Geune, retains the ancient name. The old site however is, as usual, at some distance from the modern village. About two miles lower down the Aïdos Dere, on its right bank, there rises a conical hill which the natives call *Assar*, isolated on all sides except the north, where it is joined by a low ramp to the ridge which bounds the *Dere*. On the hill there are distinct traces of ancient life: we saw a few blocks of stone lying about near the foot of the slope (including one or two marbles), the remains of a flight of steps leading up the SW. side, the foundations of a small Byzantine chapel on the summit, and small fragments of tiles and pottery strewn about over the hill-side. Amongst these fragments I picked up a few painted pieces which Mr. Cecil Smith has been good enough to examine: most of them may be late, but one fragment showing a series of concentric circles on a light-red background, a pattern so common on Cyprian ware, is (he says) genuine Greek work and may go back as far as the fifth or sixth century B.C.[1]

A glance at the annexed map (Pl. IV.) shows that *Assar* is a point of strategical importance, commanding not only the road from the Kayster Valley by Kirk Tchinar Devrent to Sala (Geune) and the East, but also, to a certain extent, the path along Karindjaly Dere[2] which Frederick Barbarossa followed in his march from the plain of Philadelpheia to Tripolis, avoiding the direct route through the pass Devrent (or Derbent) Boghaz.[3] His army was attacked after leaving Philadelpheia, and by making this détour round by Aetos he avoided all necessity of fighting his way through the pass.

A different identification of Aetos is proposed by Dr. Buresch. He would place it beside Kirk Tchinar Devrent ('Devrent of the forty plane-trees'), a village at the entrance to the pass, where there is an old site called Devrent Kalessi[4] similar to Assar: and he also suggests that Kallatebos (Herod. vii. 31, see below) may be placed there. He argues that in the two days' march from Philadelpheia to Tripolis Aetos was probably the intermediate station. Now, apart from the fort at Devrent, it seems impossible to find a site which will suit the dates of the march; and this situation 'possesses the characteristic (a very important one for our identification) which Herodotus attributes to the position of Kallatebos, viz. *παριέναι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται*: that is, as the Persian marching from the Maeander plain to the Hermos valley[5] in 481 B.C. must necessarily pass the fort of Devrent, so the Crusaders in 1190 A.D. could not avoid passing it.'[6] But in estimating this theory we must bear in mind that his exploration was incomplete: he did not visit the site at Assar or observe that Aïdos retains the ancient name. Of Kallatebos we shall speak presently; but the preceding exposition has shown that Frederick could and did avoid passing the fort at Devrent.

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now corruptly pronounced Aïdas. Tomaschek's identification of Aetos with Aïdos is accepted both by Prof. Ramsay and by Prof. Radet.

[1] So far, of course, as one may judge from a small fragment.

[2] So called in Kiepert's map, but, I think, not rightly (though I am not sure of the correct name).

[3] We followed this route in going from Aïdos to Baharlar: it is an easy road.

[4] Or Assar.

[5] I have corrected the oversight *vom Hermosthale nach der Maiandrosebene.*

[6] *Reisebericht*, p. 111 (= *Aus Lydien*, p. 207).

TRALLA.—But we can approve everything else that Dr. Buresch says about Devrent Kalessi. The hill (which is not very large but somewhat steep) is situated a quarter of an hour W. of Kirk Tchinar Devrent. Lying as it does at the point where the great road through the Kogamis valley emerges from the long narrow pass and crosses the road leading from south-east Lydia into the Kayster valley and thence to Ephesos, it is obviously of 'extraordinary strategical importance.' 'It would be strange' (as he says) 'if this important point had remained unoccupied...; it might be said that Nature had expressly formed it to bear a castle and set it as a sentinel in this important place. Remains of late fortifications and foundations of houses on the not very roomy[1] summit, fragments of pottery and tiles scattered in rich profusion over the summit and slopes, a sarcophagus accidentally uncovered on the S.E. slope, and finally the Roman and Byzantine coins found here,[2] show that right into the Middle Ages men have lived and watched here' (p. 110 = *Aus Lydien*, p. 207).

What name, then, is to be assigned to this site? I think we must identify it with Tralla, following Prof. Ramsay's first suggestion (in *CB.* p. 180). He rightly says that 'the very name would suggest its origin in a settlement of Thracian mercenaries, who under the name of Tralleis or Traleis,[3] served under the Pergamenian kings along with Mysian, Paphlagonian, and other troops . . . . . and Tralla perhaps lay near the Derbent-Boghaz, commanding the important road from the Hermos to the Lycos valley.' In later passages (*e.g.* pp. 200 *n.* 2, 580 f., 688) he inclines to identify Tralla with Aetos (which also occurs as a Thracian name, Niceph. Bryen. p. 149), taking Aetos as the name given by the Thracian Tralleis to their own town, while Tralla was the name used by others (*CB.* ii. p. 580, *n.* 5). But the fact that Tralla and Aetos are both mentioned in *Not.* x. 228, 232, and *Not.* xiii. 88, 93 seems conclusive against this view.[4]

An important confirmation of our identification is to be found in the Peutinger Table, which places Tralla at a point where a road from Philadelpheia forks, one branch going to Peltai and Apameia, the other to Laodiceia. It is represented thus:—

[1] My note says, 'a fine space on the top.'

[2] We may add (1) traces of steps up one side (2) quite near the foot remains of building in much better style than those on the summit. The cemeteries of the village contain a very few old stones.

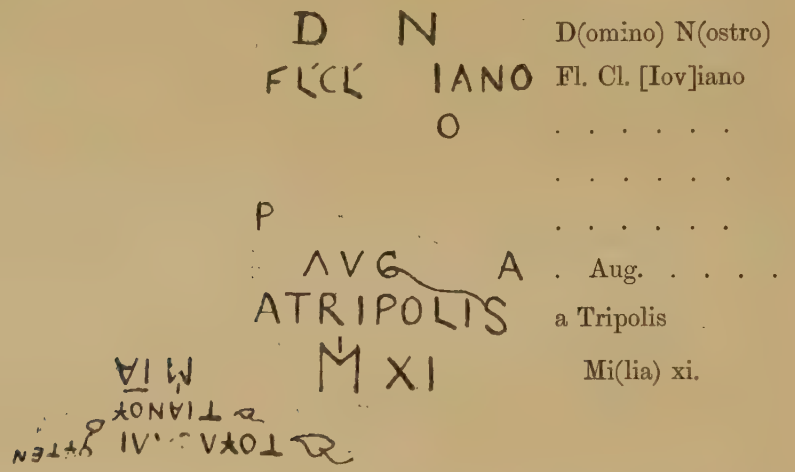
[3] Τραλεῖς *Inschr. Perg.* no. 13: Hesych. *s.v.* Τραλλεῖς (cp. Tomaschek *Die alten Thraker* ii. p. 44).

[4] His map (vol. i.) rightly indicates Tralla somewhere in the Devrent Boghaz (in accordance with the view expressed on p. 180).

Prof. Ramsay, following a hint of M. Radet's, has shown that there are two roads mixed up here, Philadelpheia-Tralla-Peltai-Apameia, and Philadelpheia-Tralla-Tripolis etc., *which in reality coincide in part* (*viz. as far as Tralla*). Now Devrent Kalessi is just about 25 Roman miles from Philadelpheia, and the situation therefore suits excellently his proposed restoration, *Philadelpheia* xxv *Tralla* xxviii *Atyokhorion*, etc.[1] (*CB.* ii. p. 580). In spite of the jumbling, the Table still rightly indicates the fact that at Tralla there is a parting of the ways, one going to Laodiceia, the other to Peltai and Apameia.

The road from the Kayster valley joined the Kogamis valley road at Tralla (beside Kirk Tchinar Devrent). In the upper part of the Kadi keui Deressi remains of the pavement of this road are still visible, and in an old cemetery hidden amongst trees, 25 minutes southeast of Kadi keui (which is about four miles from Devrent keui), I copied the following milestone, which makes Tripolis the *caput viae*. The stone is unfortunately in very bad condition.

23.



D(omino) N(ostro)
Fl. Cl. [Iov]iano
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. Aug. . . . .
a Tripolis
Mi(lia) xi.

There is a milestone of Jovian at Apameia (*C.I.L. III. Suppl.* 7054), otherwise we might restore [Iul]iano.

At the bottom of the left-hand side there is a fragment of a Greek inscr. engraved the reverse way in small characters, which seems to refer to a different emperor (? Gratian).

The form Tripoli is curious.

KALLATEBOS.—From Aïdos we crossed over the hills to Baharlar, a village in the Kogamis[2] valley south-east of Ine Giöl, and recopied there the

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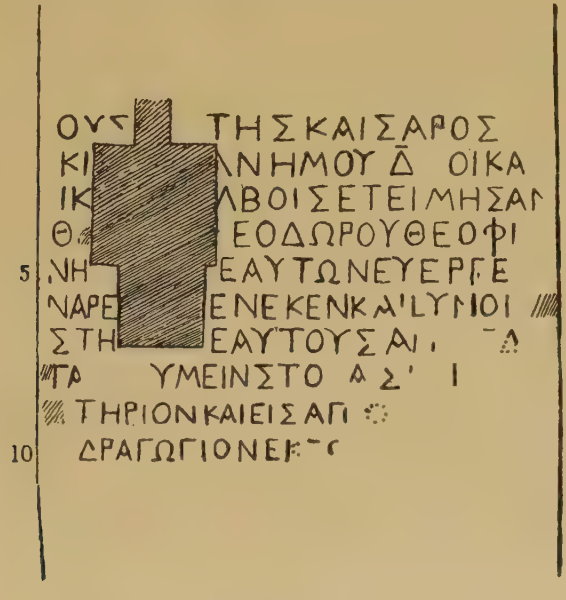
[1] He ingeniously explains S[ocra]tu as a Latin corruption of *'s χωρίον Ατυος* through the form s-cor-atu. The reading is not certain, as may be seen from the photographic reproduction (Vienna, 1888).

[2] So on a coin (*CB.* p. 196 *n.* 3); Cogamus in Pliny.

inscription in which M. Radet believed he had found documentary evidence for the situation of Kallatebos (Herod. vii. 31).[1]

In the epigraphic copy I have tried to represent the inscription exactly as it is on the stone. The shaded part is a hole cut in the marble, which has destroyed the important portion of the text. As I have already said,[2] the present state of this stone is remarkable: some letters have partially, others wholly disappeared, and yet the polished surface remains intact. I have therefore not used the shading which is generally employed to indicate breaks in the stone, except where there are actual breaks.

24.



Ἔτ]ους . . . τῆς Καίσαρος
νί]κ[ης μη(νὸς) Π]ανήμου δ', οἱ κά-
το]ικ[οι ἐν . .]λβοις ἐτείμησαν
Θ[ευδᾶν? Θ]εοδώρου Θεόφι[λ-
5 ο]ν ἥ[ρωα τὸν] ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέ[τ-
η]ν ἀρε[τῆς] ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί-
α]ς τῆ[ς εἰς] ἑαυτούς, ἄ[νδρα
ἀ]γα[θόν], ὑμεῖν στο[ι]ὰς [καὶ βουλ-
ευ]τήριον καὶ εἰς ἀπο[δοχεῖον
10 ὑ]δραγώγιον ἐκ [τ]ο[ῦ ὄρους ἀπεργ-
ασάμενον.]

Notes.—L. 1, My impression was that the left edge of the stone was not broken. Buresch says that before the Κ the whole Ι [probably part of Ν]

[1] Radet, *B.C.H.* 1891, p. 373 ff.; cp. *CB.* i. p. 199 f. Buresch, *Reisebericht*, p. 112 f. (*Aus. Lyd.* p. 208) restores the first three lines.

[2] *Athenaeum*, Oct. 23, 1897, p. 566.

is preserved *hart am Bruchrande*: if so, the edge must have got rubbed down, and I have arranged the restoration on this supposition. L. 2, probably Μ̈, as Buresch says, the Μ being spread out. L. 4–5, the restoration of the name seems doubtful. L. 7, *ἄνδρα* suits the traces [the Ρ is squarely cut] but the introduction of the second person in *ὑμεῖν* is very odd. L. 8, there is space for a letter between Ο and Α: *στοιᾶς* occurs *C.I.G.* 2483. L. 9, perhaps *ἀποδοχεῖον*, *i.e.* 'reservoir' (=*ἐκδόχιον* of *C.I.G.* 3454).

The restoration of 7–10 is, of course, not certain: but the crucial line is 3. M. Radet wishes to make the name of the *κατοικία* Kallataboi [or better Kallataba], assimilating it to Kallatebos, the town which Xerxes passed on his march between the Maeander and Sardeis. Unfortunately, M. Radet's restoration is quite impossible. The number of letters lost between ΙΚ and ΛΒΟΙΣ cannot be more than six, allowing for at least one narrow letter[1]: seven occur in an equal space in l. 9, but there the letters are slightly smaller.[2] *οἱ κά[το]ικ[οι οἱ ἐν* Καλλατ]*άβοις* or *οἱ Κᾶρες οἱ ἐν* Καλλατά*βοις* (which is in itself most unlikely and does not suit the letters) are therefore both impossible, even if *οἱ* be omitted. It was audacious to say that 'Kallataboi, being given by epigraphy,' ought to be preferred to Herodotus' form Kallatebos (*B.C.H. l.c.* p. 376)! Another suggestion is that of Prof. Ramsay in *CB.* ii. p. 573 n. 5. He has come across a reference to *Ἀρδαβαῦ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ*,[3] which he thinks 'may very well indicate the Mysian country that lay south and south-east from Philadelpheia on the Phrygian frontier' (ii. p. 573): and he suggests *οἱ κά[το]ικ[οι ἐν* Ἀρδ]*άβοις* as a possible restoration of our inscription. This is, however, slightly too long: and moreover the termination is most probably—*λβοις*,[4]—an objection which would also apply to the late Dr. Buresch's *κά[το]ικ[οι οἱ ἐν]* Ἄ*βοις*, giving a name Ἄ*βα*, which is a possible form (cp. Steph. Byz. s.v.). We must reluctantly conclude that the name of the *κατοικία* is lost beyond recovery.

As to the provenance of the inscription, Dr. Buresch says that all accounts assigned it to an old site N.E. of Baharlar on the other side of the Kogamis, stretching from the foot of the hills nearly down to the river and with its N.W. edge not far from Bahadyr keui. I received the same account; and the spot whence it is said to have been taken (beside an old cemetery beyond the river) was shown me by a villager who was present at the ceremony. The ruins at this site are extensive[5] but characterless. Now

[1] This nearly agrees with Buresch: '4 *um fangreiche* (*als* ΜΠΗ) *oder zur Noth* 4 *Buchstaben von Durchschnittsbreite und* 2 *schmale* (*d. h.* Ι) *verschlungen haben*. My views were formed at Baharlar before I knew of his paper.

[2] Allowing for two narrow letters (like Ι or Ρ) and considering that the letters are not always of quite the same breadth, nor equally spaced, I said in *Athenaeum* that 'the space cannot contain above seven letters': but the above statement is more exact.

[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 16 (reference to Montanus).

[4] I made a note to the effect that the letter before Β is apparently Λ, although it might possibly have been Α (considering the way in which parts of letters have disappeared).

[5] But I did not think they extended nearly so far as Bahadyr keui.

though we cannot restore Καλλάταβα in this inscription, can we suppose that these ruins represent Kallatebos, considering that after the foundation of Philadelpheia the older πόλις dwindled into a mere κατοικία? That it did so dwindle is most probable, and the site is not unsuitable, though one rather nearer Ine Giöl would be preferable. It is at least certain that Kallatebos was *near Ine Giöl.* What Herodotus says is, that in marching from Kydrara [Hierapolis] to Sardis it was absolutely necessary for the Persian army to cross the Maeander and pass by the city of Kallatebos, διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἰέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημιοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι, *i.e.* there was only one possible road, the road which goes through the Devrent Boghaz and along the river-valley, passing by Ine Giöl and Ala Sheher (Philadelpheia). And Hamilton observed that 'the tamarisk does not grow in the mountain passes, but occurs in great abundance in the valley of the Cogamus, near Aineh Ghieul' (ii. p. 374). The old site opposite Baharlar, therefore, may very well represent Kallatebos, for the plain round Ine Giöl would in any case be part of its territory; but it is possible that the site of the city was nearer Ine Giöl and has completely disappeared.[1]

Apollonos-hieron or Apollonieron has evidently been found by Dr. Buresch, who places it at an old site 2½ kilometres E.S.E. of Bôs Alan. This confirms Prof. Ramsay's suggestion (*CB.* i. p. 194 f.) that it should be looked for at *or near* Bulladan, which is the important town of the district and a governmental centre (seat of a *kaimmakam*). I agree with Dr. Buresch that Bulladan is a purely modern foundation; but to it have passed the heritage of Apollonieron and the name as well, for Bulladan or Bullandánn is not a Turkish word, and Prof. Ramsay is clearly right in saying that it 'retains the ancient name Apollonieron, just as Abulliont in Mysia retains the old name Apollonia.'[2] M. Radet places Apollonos Hieron at Erziler, north of Aïdos.

THE LYCOS BRIDGE.

On our way eastwards, we may be permitted to stop again for a moment in the Lycos valley to note an interesting discovery made by my friend M. Weber of Smyrna, who desires me to publish it here. Last autumn M. Weber found the ruins of the bridge which carried the road from Laodiceia to Hierapolis over the Lycos. This bridge was evidently a solid structure built

[1] We cannot therefore approve Buresch's idea (quoted above, under Aetos) that Kallat. might be placed at Devrent Kalessi. Speaking of the site near Baharlar, he asks *Könnte man nun etwa diese für die Stelle des herodoteischen* Καλλάτηβος, *der unumgänglichen Wegestation, ansprechen? Gewiss ist, dass man jener Stätte schon weit eher als Ine Gjöl die Eigenschaften eines als 'unumgänglich' gekennzeichneten Punktes zusprechen könnte* (p. 117 = *Aus. Lyd.* 212). This entirely misses the point of Herod.'s words, which simply state the fact that *the only available road was that on which Kallat. lay.* The Baharlar site is, therefore, not a whit more 'unumgänglich' than Ine Giöl or any other point on the road.

[2] For the loss of the *α*, see *CB.* p. 195 *note* 1. Compare also Bulawôdin or Bulawâdin, the modern name of Polybôtos. The sense in which a modern town may be said to represent an ancient one is clearly defined in *Hist. Geog.* p. 83.

of fine large blocks, with three arches, of which the central one is still complete. It is situated about half a kilometre to the north of the point where the river Asopos now joins the Lycos, the ground between it and the present course of the river being now an impassable marsh. The discovery is important as showing that the Lycos has here changed its course considerably.

COLOSSAE.

Two inscriptions of Colossae have to be added to the small list we already possess. The first is a dedication to Hadrian by a *tribunus militum*.

25. In a field near the ruins.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ	Αὐτοκρά-
ΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑ	τορι Καίσα-
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΩΑ	ρ]ι Τραιανῷ [Α-
ΔΡΙΑΝΩΣΕ	δριανῷ Σε-
ΒΑΣΤΩΟΛΥ	βαστῷ Ὀλ[υμ-
ΠΙΩ ΛΜΑ	πίῳ Λ. Μα-
ΚΕΔΩΝΧ	κεδὼν χ[ει-
ΛΙΑΡΧΟ	λίαρχο[ς.

26. In another field.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.

πυγμαχίης τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐγὼ Κάστωρ ἀπεδέγμην
νεικήσας σθεναραῖς παλαμ[α]ῖς ἄξυστος ἄμωμος·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν θέμις ἄλλῳ ἀδελφειῷ Πολυδ[εύ]κους
χεῖρας ἀνασχ[εμ]έναι πυγμῆς χάρ[μ'] ἀν[τι]πάλοιο,
ἀθλοθέτ[ης] δ' ἐμὲ παῖς [(name) κρείττον' ἔνειμε?

L. 4, ΧΑΡΝΑΝ⁻ .|ΠΑΛΟΙΟ. Nothing seemed to have been engraved after ΠΑΙΣ.

In the inscr. published by Waddngton, no. 1693*b*, from a copy by M. Renan, read in l. 1 [. . . . . *ἀνέθηκεν τὴ]ν θεὰν Τύχην τῆι πατρίδι.* Cp., for instance, an inscr. of Antioch, Sterrett, *E.J.* no. 97.

ANAVA-SANAOS.

Three inscriptions of Sanaos, which had to be omitted in Pt. I. on account of the strict limitations of space imposed, are added here.

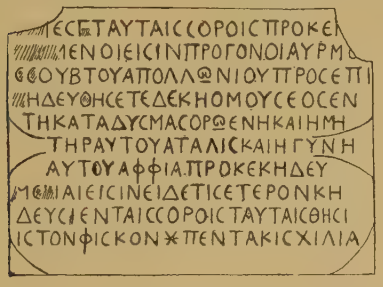
27. On a large architrave block, in the cemetery below Sarikavak.

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΚΑΙΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΤΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΟΤΟΠΟΣ

Διοδώρου καὶ Καλλιστράτου τῶν Καλλιστράτου ὁ τόπος.

The two sons are the same who are mentioned as having taken part with their father Kallistratos, son of Diodoros, in presenting a *βουλευτήριον* to Sanaos (M. Weber in *Ath. Mitth.* 1893, p. 207 = *CB.* no. 83).[1]

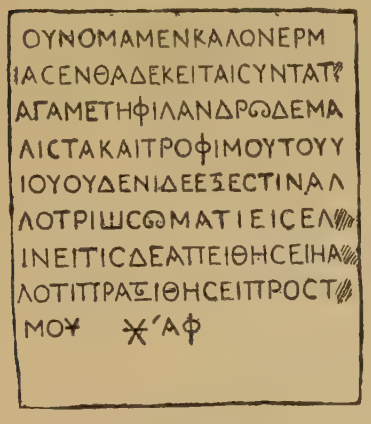
28. Used to cover a *kuyu* in the watercourse of the fountain: dug up and replaced for a consideration.



'Εν τ]ῆς[2] γ' ταύταις σοροῖς προκε[κηδευ]μένοι εἰσὶν πρόγονοι Αὐρ. Μο[υσέου β' τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου, προσεπικ]ηδευθήσετε δὲ κὴ ὁ Μουσῆος ἐν τῇ κατὰ δυσμὰς (σ)ορῷ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ 'Αταλὶς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ 'Αφφία προκεκηδευμέ[ν]αι εἰσίν· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον κηδεύσι ἐν ταῖς σοροῖς ταύταις, θήσι ἰς τὸν φίσκον δην. πεντακισχίλια.

L. 8 *'Αφφία*, more usually *'Απφία*. On the name, which is probably a *Lallname* (a by-form of Appa), see Kretschmer *Einleitung in d. Gesch. d. Griech. Spr.* p. 347. On *κὴ* for *καὶ* see *CB.* II. no. 678, p. 742.

29. At Appa (Yokaru), near a well: small lettering.



Οὔνομα μὲν καλὸν 'Ερμίας ἐνθάδε κεῖται | σὺν Τατ[ία γαμέτῃ φιλάνδρῳ δὲ μάλιστα | καὶ Τροφίμου τοῦ υἱοῦ· οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξέστιν ἀλλοτρίῳ σώματι εἰσελ[θεῖν,[3] εἴ τις δὲ ἀπειθήσει ἢ ἄ[λλο τι πράξι, θήσει προστ[είμου δην. ,αφ'.

The first two lines are very rude attempts at hexameters.

THE PLAIN EAST OF L. ANAVA.

The plain east of Lake Anava, now called Taz Kiri, was probably Apameian territory, and it does not seem to have contained any town. There are however considerable remains, including many large blocks of stone and a

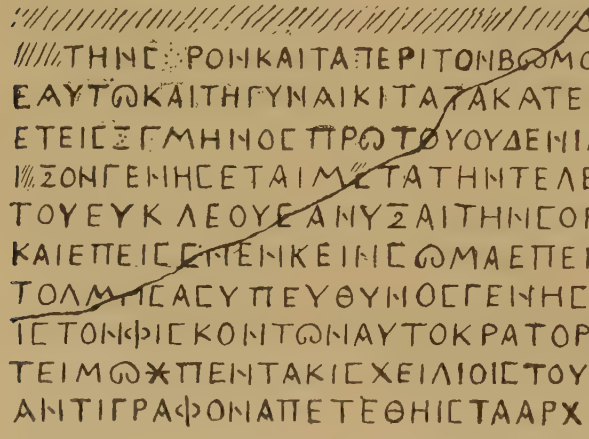
[1] The letters have *apices*, and in l. 2 the stone has *ἑατοῦ*.

[2] Cp. *ἐν τῆς ἀμπέλοις*, *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 393.

[3] Compare *ἰσελθῖν* at Eumeneia, acc. to Prof. Ramsay's reading, *CB.* ii. p. 525, no. 367, where M. Paris read *εἰσ[βα]λεῖν* (*B.C.H.* 1884, p. 251).

few unimportant inscriptions, at Basmaktchi (where a weekly market is held): and although they are mostly to be found in the cemeteries and have probably been largely carried from Sanaos, it is quite possible that there was a village here.[1] A small settlement existed at Basmaktchi Yaila, a refugee village high up on Yan Dagh, three hours from Basmaktchi, on the path to Buldur. I copied there the following inscription which is engraved on an enormous block (now broken into two pieces) forming part of a *heröon*, the foundations of which have been uncovered by the peasants.

30. In the epigraphic text the two pieces are placed together.



. . . Εὐκλῆς τοῦ Καλλικλέους ? τ]ὸν βωμὸν
καὶ] τὴν σ[ο]ρὸν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ζῶν
ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Τάτᾳ κατεσκεύασεν
ἔτει σ[ξ]γ', μηνὸς πρώτου· οὐδενὶ μέντοι γε
ἐ]ξὸν γενήσεται μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν
τοῦ Εὐκλέους ἀνῦξαι τὴν σορὸν
καὶ ἐπεισενενκεῖν σῶμα, ἐπεὶ ὁ τοῦτο
τολμ[ή]σας ὑπεύθυνος γενήσεται
ἱς τὸν φίσκον τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων προσ-
τείμῳ δην. πεντακισχειλίοις· τούτων δὲ τὸ
ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη ἱς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

The date is 178–9 A.D. Eukles and his wife Tata evidently belong to a family of Maximianopolis, whose *stemma* is traced in *CB.* I. p. 333. The Record Office is probably that of Apameia, unless Maximianopolis possessed one. Basmaktchi Yaila was probably an outlying settlement of the great Imperial Estate near the southern and western end of Lake Askania. Beside the village there are some rock-cut sarcophagi.

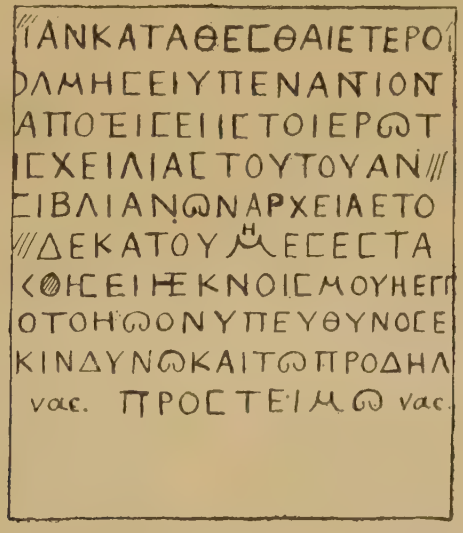
[1] That the name Σιτούπολις (Hierocles) which M. Radet places at Basmaktchi (map in *En Phrygie*) is a corrupt form of Ἀναστασιούπολις, as Κονιούπολις is of Διονυσούπολις, was shown long ago by Prof. Ramsay.

31. Of another inscription on a cornice piece, now forming the lintel of the mosque door, I could make out little more than [*τὸν βωμ*]*ὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι κείοσιν καὶ . . .*

SIBLIA.

The Siblianoi are placed by Prof. Ramsay in the marshy Maeander valley which stretches south from Ak Dagh and forms a corner of the great plain of Peltai. He thinks they possessed no proper *πόλις* but retained the old village-organisation, having three centres (*κῶμαι*), one at Vicus (Tchandir Tchiftlik), one at Boz-eyuk, and one at Khoma on the slope of Ak Dagh (*CB.* i. p. 222 ff.). Yet the coinage shows that at least 'in the early third century the tribe must have become more closely organised...and selected one of these villages as a *πόλις* or city centre' (p. 225). The change seems to have occurred earlier: for the following fragmentary inscription, which can hardly be later than the early second century, mentions the Record Office of Siblia.[1] This inscription, which is the only epigraphic evidence we have for the name, is built into the platform of the Railway Station at Evjiler[2] (close to the site of Lampe); it has been cut on all sides.

32.



. . . . . [*οὐδενὸς ἄλλου*
ἔχοντος ἐξουσ]*ίαν καταθέσθαι ἕτερο*[*ν πτῶμα·*
εἰ δέ τις τ]*ολμήσει ὑπενάντιόν τ*[*ι ποιῆσ-*
αι ἢ ἄλλο τι πράξει], *ἀποτείσει ἰς τὸ ἱερώτ*[*ατον τα-*

[1] Yet it may be held that this fact is not inconsistent with the want of a real *πόλις*; for though the relation of the villages in a *κωμόπολις* is an unsolved problem, we must infer that one *κώμη* was more important than the others and formed a sort of centre.

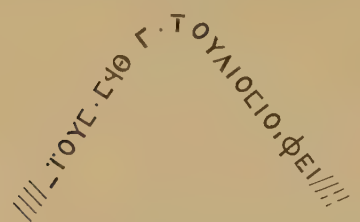
[2] It has been carried from one of the villages in the plain, no great distance. See the map in *CB.* vol. i.

μεῖον Ἀττικὰς δ]ισχειλίας· τούτου ἀν[τίγραφ-
ον ἀπετέθη ἰς τὰ] Σιβλιανῶν ἀρχεῖα, ἔτο[υς δια-
κοσιοστοῦ ? κὲ] δεκάτου μη(νὸς) ε', ς'· ἔστα[ι δὲ οὐδενὶ
ἐξουσία . .] . . . . εἰ [μ]ὴ τέκνοις μου ἢ ἐγγ[όνοις, εἰ δέ
τις ἕτερος ἀνύξει τοῦτ]ο τὸ ἡ[ρ]ῷον, ὑπεύθυνος ἔ[σται τῷ
τοῦ νόμου] κινδύνῳ καὶ τῷ προδηλ[ουμένῳ
προστείμῳ.

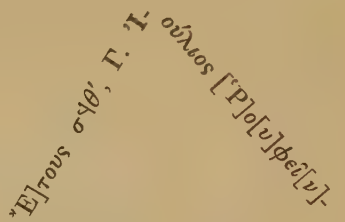
For the use of Attic *drachmae* in this district, see Part I. No. 15. In the troublous Byzantine times Khoma with its strong fortress (*kalè*) became the great centre. On a hot August morning I started up the mountain to examine the *kalè* and reached it after an ascent of fully an hour and a half,—alone, my attendants having fainted by the way! It is a bare, isolated rock, standing out from the mountain-side in solitary grandeur, about 2,000 feet above the village. There is little to be seen now except part of a late wall on the narrow summit and a cistern (*hammam*) lower down on the further side (which is not visible from the top, but was reported to me after I had climbed down again).[1]

LAMPE.[2]

33. In the village of Evjiler.



////-ΙΟΥC·C·ΦΘ Γ·ΤΟΥΛΙΟCΙΟ·ΦΕΙ////



'Ε]τους σϛθ', Γ. Τ. οὐλιος [Ρ]ο[υ]φεῖ[νι]-

ΟCΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΠΡΕΙCΥ////
ΗCΥΝΒΙΟCΑΥΤΟΥΚΑ////
ΤΕCCΚΕΥΑCΑΝΤΟ////
//ϽѠΟΝΕΑΥΤΟΙCΚΑΙ
ΤΟΙCΤΕΚΝΟΙCΑΥΤ////
ΕΦΩΟΥΚΕΧΕCι////
//ΛΛΟΝΕΙCΑΥΤΟΚΗ////
ΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙΕΗΜΟ (*sic*)
ΝΟΥCΤΟΝΡΟΥΦΙ////
//ΝΟΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΠΡ////
ΕΙCΚΑΝΚΑΙΤΑΕΧΛ////
ΤѠΝΤΕΚΝΑΕΙΔι////
ΤΙCΕΠΙΧΗΡΗCΕΙ////

ος καὶ Αὐρηλία Πρεῖσκ[α
ἡ σύνβιος αὐτοῦ κα-
τεσ<σ>κεύασαν τὸ [ἡ-
ρῷον ἑαυτοῖς καὶ
τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτ[ῶν,
ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἐξέσ[ται
ἄλλον εἰς αὐτὸ κη-
δευθῆναι ε(ἰ μ)ὴ μό-
νους τὸν Ῥουφ[εῖ-
νον καὶ τὴν Πρ-
εῖσκαν καὶ τὰ ἐξ α[ὐ-
τῶν τέκνα· εἰ δ[έ
τις ἐπιχηρήσει [ἰς

[1] Another *kalè* was reported further to S.E. (nearer Dinêr-Apameia).

[2] See *CB*, p. 227 f., 347 etc.

	ΙΟΗΡΩΟΝΤΙΝΑΘΗ////		τὸ ἠρῷον τινα θε[ῖ-
	ΝΑΙΘΗCΕΙΕΙCΤΟΙ		ναι, θήσει εἰς τὸ ἱ-
	ΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΝΤΑΜΕΙ		ερώτατον ταμεῖ-
	ΟΝΟΝΟΜΑΤΙΠΟC////ι		ον ὀνόματι π(ρ)οσ[τεί
20	//ΙΟΥΔΗΝΑΡΙΑΔΙCΧΕΙΛΙ	20	μ]ου δηνάρια δισχείλι-
	ΑΠΕΝΤΑΚΟCΙΑ		α πεντακόσια.

On the right-hand side is ΘΥ(*ρα*), for which see *CB.* II. p. 395, no. 280.

The date is 214–15 A.D., which suits well the use of *Aurelia* as *praenomen*.[1]

34. *Ibid.*

Π·ΙΟΥΛ·ΤΙΒ·	Π. Ἰούλ(ιος) Τιβ(έριος)
ΑΓΑΘΥΡ·	Ἀγάθυρ-
COC	σος.

APOLLONIA-SOZOPOLIS.

A visit which I paid to Apollonia resulted in the discovery of some new inscriptions and the improvement of some already published.[2] I failed, however, to find the important inscription given by Prof. Sterrett, *W.E.* no. 548.

35. On a large rectangular block now used as a fountain-trough, in the vineyards below Ulu-Borlu. A large cross was afterwards cut on the stone where the breaks are shown. The block had to be displaced before the inscription could be read, and it was no easy matter to move it.

	ΑΥΤΟ////ΡΑΤΟΡΑ		Αὐτο[κ]ράτορα
	ΚΑΙΣΑ////Α·Μ·ΑΥΡΗ		Καίσα[ρ]α Μ. Αὐρή(λιον)
	ΑΝ͡ιω////LΙΝΟΝ		Ἀν[τωνεῖ]νον
	ΣΕΒΑ////ΤΟΝ·ΥΙ		Σεβα[σ]τόν, υἱ-
5	ΟΝΑΥ///ΟΚΡΑΤΟ	5	ον Αὐ[τ]οκράτο-
	ΡΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΛ		ρος Καίσαρος Λ.
	ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΣΣΕΥ		Σεπτιμιο[υ] Σευ-
	ΟΥΗΡΟΥΠ̄ΡΤΙΝΑ		ουήρου Π[ε]ρτίνα-
	ΚΟΣΣΕΒΗΒΟΥΛΗ		κος Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἡ βουλὴ
10	ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ	10	καὶ ὁ δῆμος
	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ		Ἀπολλωνιατῶν
	ΛΥΚΙΩΝΘΡΑΚΩΝ		Λυκίων Θρᾳκῶν
	ΚΟΛΩΝΩΝ ☩		Κολωνῶν ☩

[1] The *koppa* is slightly blurred on the stone, but it seems quite certain.

[2] Inscr. of Apollonia *C.I.G.* 3969 ff.; Le Bas-Wadd. 1192 ff.; Sterrett, *W.E.* 517–554; *B.C.H.* xvii. pp. 255–59.

Ll. 11–13. The title used by the people of Apollonia in the second and following centuries in inscriptions[1] and on coins[2] creates some difficulty.[3] The name Apollonia, and the existence of Thracian colonists would seem to point to a Pergamenian foundation.[4] But, as Prof. Ramsay points out to me, an inscription published by Sterrett (*W.E.* no 589), recording the erection of an *ἄγαλμ[α Θεοῦ] Νεικάτορος κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ Δ[ιὸς]* by a priest of Zeus Eu[rydamenos], seems to show that Apollonia was a foundation of Seleucus Nikator. The Thracians, then, may have been settled in the city at a later time, for we have already found (Part I. no. 10) that the Attalidae 'actually introduced into Seleucid foundations bodies of new citizens likely to be faithful to themselves.' It would appear from an early inscription, no. 40 (below), that the two classes of colonists maintained (for some time at least) a separate existence in reality as well as in name, for there a bequest is made *εἰς εὐωχίαν ἐν τ[ῇ] πόλ[ε]ι Θρᾳκῶν ὧν [ἂν ἔ]ιη δικαί[ω]ς*. The use of the term *κολωνοὶ* is not easy to understand: was it adopted in a spirit of rivalry with the Augustan *κολωνείαι*, such as Antioch, Lystra, etc.,[5] in place of the usual term *κάτοικοι*, which was by this time synonymous with *κώμη*?

36. In the wall of the *Kishla*.

////ΑΡΙCΜΕΝΟCΔΙΕΥΡΥΔΑΜΗ//// *...κεχ]αρισμένος Δὶ Εὐρυδαμην[ῷ εὐχήν.*

The form Δὶ occurs also in an unpublished inscription at a village between Apia and Aizanoi Δὶ *Βροντῶντι εὐχήν*, and in an inscription at Karadilli (see Khelidonia-Diniae).

The cult of ΖΕΥΣ ΕΥΡΥΔΑΜΗΝΟΣ is mentioned in two other inscriptions of this district, (1) at Böyuk Kabadja (Sterr. *W.E.* 589), where we should restore *ἱερεὺς Διὸς Εὐ[ρυδαμηνοῦ]* and (2) in an inscription of Gendj Ali published from Ramsay's copy in *Rev. Arch.* 1888, ii. p. 223 (=*Chron. d'Or.* 1883-90, p. 500), where a monument is erected by a priest of *Ζεὺς Εὐρυδαμηνὸς* and his wife *πρώταυλος Διὸς Οὐρυδαμηνοῦ*. *Πρώταυλος*, 'chief flute player,' 'first flute,' implies that music and dancing formed part of the religious ceremonial; on this subject, see *CB.* ii. p. 359. *Εὐρυ-δαμηνὸς* is doubtless a Hellenized form of a native name.[6] We may compare *Εὐρυ-βάλινδος*, a name of Dionysos (Hesych. *s.v.*), where *βαλινδος* is certainly the same word as Phryg. *βαλήν* 'king,' which occurs in Thrace as a name of Dionysos (*Βάλιν*,[7] *τὸν*

[1] *C.I.G.* 3969 etc.; Sterrett no. 517: *Hist. Geog.* p. 172.

[2] From Antoninus Pius to Gallienus (Head, *Hist. Num.*).

[3] Cp. Wadd. on 1195; G. F. Hill, *B. M. Catalogue of Lycia etc.*, p. civ.

[4] As Prof. G. Hirschfeld thought (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1888, p. 592): so Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 400, who shows that *Λυκίων Θρᾳκῶν* means *Λυκίων καὶ Θρᾳκῶν* (as given in an inscr. *ib.* 172).

[5] Cp., for example, Sterr. *W.E.* no. 352, *E.J.* 97 etc.

[6] Possibly *Οὐρυδαμηνὸς* is not an engraver's error but a form really nearer the original.

[7] Skr. *bala*, 'power,' *balin* 'powerful': cp. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker* ii. p. 41, (in *Sitzungsber. Wien. Akad.* 1894), where this is given as one of several explanations of the name '*Βαλίας oder Βαλιός*' which '*soll Dionysos bei den Thraken geheissen haben EM.*' Gaisford's edition of *Et. Mag.*, however, gives neither *Βαλίας* nor *Βαλιός*, but only *Βάλιν* (without any variant), which is clearly the same as Phryg. *βαλήν*.

Διόνυσον, Θρᾷκες, *Etym. Mag.* ed. Gaisford) and in Bithynia, which is Thracian (Strabo 541), as an epithet of Zeus, Διὶ Βαληῷ (*Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 373). Εὐρυ- was taken by Fick[1] as the Greek adjective, in which case Εὐρυ-βάλινδος would be equivalent to Εὐρυ-μέδων, Εὐρυ-άναξ (-άνασσα).

37. By the side of a field below Ulu-Borlu: letters rather broadly cut.

```
                                    [ἡ γερουσία]
      ////ΗΣΕΝΔΙ////                ἐτείμ]ησεν Δ[η-
      ////ΟΝΟΛΥ/ ////               μήτρι?]ον Ὀλυ[μ-
     ////ΟΥΙΕΡΕΑΡϚ ////             πίχ]ου, ἱερέα Ῥώ-
     ////ΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟ////             μη]ς γενόμενο[ν,
5    ////ΕΣΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ          5     πρ]εσβεύσαντα
     ////ΡΟΣΤΟΝΣΕΒΑΣ////          π]ρὸς τὸν Σεβασ-
     ////ΟΝΔΙΣΔΩΡΕΑΝΚ///          τ]ὸν δὶς δωρεὰν κ[αὶ
     ////ΟΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ///          ἀγ]ορανομήσαντα
     ////ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΙΑΝ////        καὶ] γυμνασιαρχίαν
10   ////ΤΕΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΤΑ////    10    τελ]έσαντα κατὰ
     ////ΔΘΗΚΗΝΟΛΥΜΠ////          δι]αθήκην Ὀλυμπ[ί-
     ////ΟΥΔΑΜΑΤΟΥΑΝΕ////         χ]ου [Δ]άμα τοῦ ἀνε[ψ-
     ////ΟΥΛ////ΜΠΡΩΣΚΑ/////      ι]οῦ λ[α]μπρῶς καὶ
     //////ΟΔΟΞΩΣΚΑΙΠ/ /////     φιλ]οδόξως, καὶ π[άσ-
15   ///ΣΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕ////////  15  η]ς ἀρετῆς ἕνεκε[ν.
```

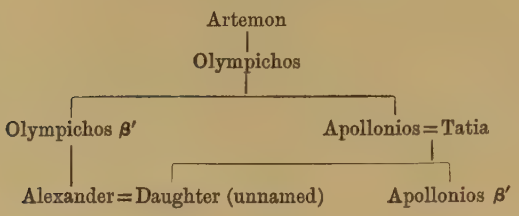
The last phrase καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν is co-ordinate with the participles. D[emetri]os is honoured for his public spirit in undertaking these *munera* and 'for his merits generally.'

The mention of a priesthood of Rome shows that this inscription belongs to the early times of the Empire (see *CB.* nos. 199, 302, 345, and p. 365 on this cultus at Eumeneia and Apameia). The main function of the *Gymnasiarch* in Roman times was to superintend the distribution of oil and help to provide it: 'nothing could better illustrate the deterioration in moral fibre of the Graeco-Asiatic cities than the transformation of the director of education into the purveyor of oil' (*CB.* ii. p. 443–4, where the office is described).

The person honoured in this inscr. belonged to one of the most powerful families of Apollonia. The following genealogy can be traced from Sterr. no. 518 (better in Wadd. 1195*a*[2]) and our next inscription:—

[1] *Die griech. götterbeinamen* in *Bezzen. Beiträge* xx. p. 160.

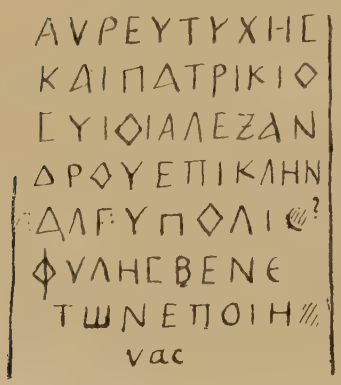
[2] Wadd.'s reading Ἀπολλ. Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ὀλυμπίχου τοῦ Ἀρτεμωνος is the correct one: in l. 4 I read ΤΑΤΙΑ (complete).

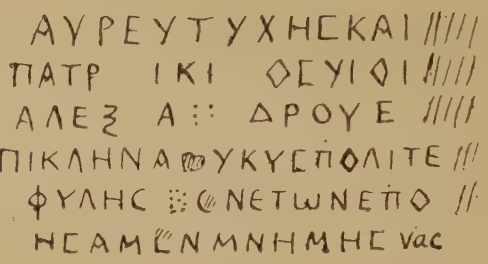


38. In the *Kalè* wall, upside down :

A	*B.*
'Αλ]έ[ξαν]δρος 'Ολυμπίχου	*'Αλέξανδρος 'Ολυ(μ)πίχου*
τοῦ] 'Ολυμπίχου 'Απολλώνιον	*τοῦ 'Ολυμπίχου τὴν ♂ <τὴν>*
τὸ]ν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον κα[ὶ] πενθερόν.	*ἑαυτοῦ πενθεράν.*

39. Of the following inscription two different examples exist, one in the *Kalè* wall (= Sterr. 530) and another in the wall of a house at the opposite end of the town. In both cases the lettering is rude.

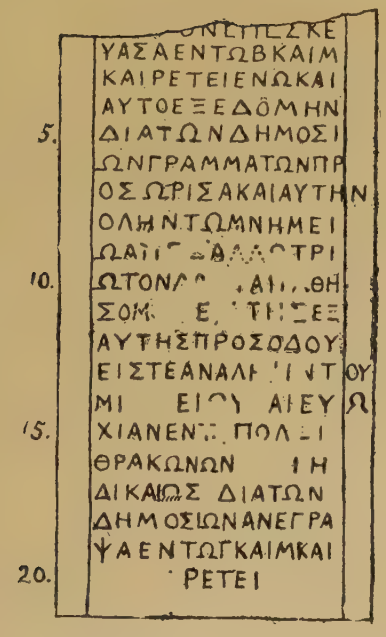




Αὐρ. Εὐτύχης καὶ Πατρίκιος υἱοὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου ἐπίκλην
Α . ΥΚΥΣ πολιτε(υομένου) φυλῆς Βενέτων ἐποιήσ-
αμεν μνήμης (χάριν).

The words φυλὴ Βενέτων mean perhaps the 'Blue Faction,' not a tribe called by the Thrako-Illyrian name Βένετοι, though the latter would be quite suitable. W. M. R. informs me that he copied the second stone in 1888 and read ΑΡΥΚΥΣ, marking the Ρ as very doubtful.

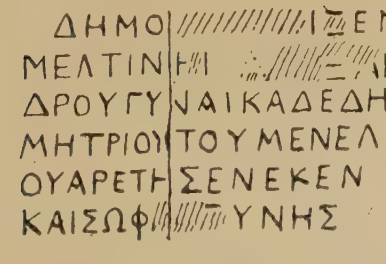
40. The copy which I made of the badly defaced inscription published by Sterrett (no. 539) helps us to complete ll. 10–20.



10 . . . . ἀν[α]θή-
σο[μαι δ]ὲ [ἐκ] τ[ῆ]ς ἐξ
αὐτῆς προσόδου
εἴς τε ἀνάλη[ψ]ιν τοῦ
μ[νημ]είου [κ]αὶ εὐω-
χίαν ἐν τ[ῇ] πόλ[ε]ι
Θρᾳκῶν ὧν [ἂν ε]ἴη
δικαί[ω]ς· διὰ τῶν
δημοσίων ἀνέγρα-
ψα ἐν τῷ γ′ καὶ μ′ καὶ
ρ′ ἔτει.

The style of this inscription is early. The monument was erected in the year ρμγ′, 143, but the era is doubtful. In *Studia Biblica* IV. p. 54, Prof. Ramsay suggests that the Galatian era may be 189 B.C., the era of 'freedom,' which would give 47 B.C. as the date of our inscription. L. 9, the third letter seemed not to be Υ; ΑΛΛΟ is doubtful. L. 11, after the first Ε there is room for two letters. L. 16, 'The Thracians who are entitled to it,' implying a specified number or body; evidently the Thracians were still distinct from the Lycians (see on no. 35). After ΩΝ there is room for two or three letters. L. 17, I have a note to the effect that the letter after ΔΙΚΑΙ is apparently Ο.

41. In the wall of the Greek church, on two blocks: restored wrongly by Prof. Sterrett (Nos. 520, 521), who did not observe that they are parts of the same inscription.



ὁ] δῆμος [ἐτίμησ]εν
Μελτίν[ην Ἀλε]ξ[ά]ν-
δρου, γυναῖκα δὲ Δη-
μητρίου τοῦ Μενελά-
ου, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν
καὶ σωφ[ροσ]ύνης.

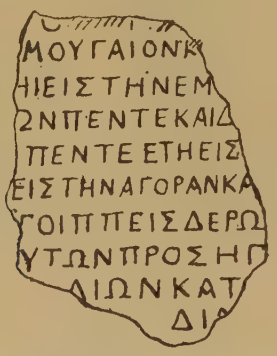
The first block contains also Sterr. 519, the second, 522. From these inscriptions we get the *stemma*,

Menelaos
|
Demetrios = Meltine, d. of Alexander
|
Menelaos = Tati[a], d. of [Aristo?]machos (no. 522).[1]

42. In the wall of a house:

'Αρτεμίδωρο[ς] | Διομήδους [τέ]|κνῳ ἰδίῳ μν[ή]|μης χάριν, κα[ὶ] | Πάνανδρος | 'Αρτεμιδώρου.

43. A fragment in another wall: small letters.

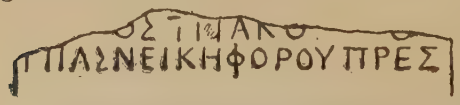


We can see in l. 2 Γάϊον Κ[λαύδιον]; in l. 4 ἐτ[ῶν] πέντε καὶ δ[έκα]; in l. 7 ἱππεῖς δὲ Ῥω[μαῖοι]; in l. 9 ἐκ τῶν ἰ]δίων κατ[εσκεύασαν].

I subjoin corrections to Sterr. 529 and 532.

44. In No. 529 Prof. Sterrett's restored reading of ll. 1–9 is confirmed by the stone (which is *complete* from beginning to end), except l. 6, where we should read ἀναλογήσαν|τα.[2] Ll. 10–14 I read ἐν ἅπασιν εὐνοίᾳ, δι|ὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν νεανίαν | πάσης ἀρετῆς τελει|ότατον ἐσχηκέναι | ζῆλον. For ζῆλον MM. Legrand and Chamonard read πόλιν (*B.C.H.* 1893, p. 258.)[3]

45. The beginning of No. 532, where Prof. Sterrett has 'A[θην]ᾶς Νεικηφόρου, must be corrected. My copy, which was made by means of a glass, reads



i.e. [. . . . . πρεσβευτὴν] λεγεῶν]ος τ[ρ]ιακο[στῆς] Ο[ὐλπίας] Νεικηφόρου.

This confirms a suggestion made by Dr. Brandis in *Hermes*, 1896, p. 164.

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[1] ll. 3–4 in Sterrett are wrongly spaced. Read Τατί[αν 'Αριστο?]μάχου, γυνα[ῖκα δὲ Με]νελάου.

[2] My copy has in l. 8 ΓΟΝΩΝΑΞΙΑ ΤΗΤΟΥ; but καὶ is necessary, whether actually on the stone or not. The inscription lies on its side at the very top of the *Kalè* wall, and I read it with a glass from the top of the wall opposite.

[3] In *B.C.H.* no. 36, l. 6–7, read Διονυσίου Μηνο[φά]νους, and in l. 9 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. In no. 35, l. 8, I seemed to see

/ΓΑΙΕᴰ/ΛΝΕΠΙ, etc.

THE EASTERN HIGHWAY.

In the last chapter of *CB.*, vol. ii., the author gives some notes on the trade-route to the East, reserving a fuller discussion in view of further exploration. I spent the best part of a month in traversing the country from Apameia (Dinêr) to Tchai (where Phrygia Paroreios begins), and from Tchai to Tyriaïon and the south-east corner of Phrygia. The results, at least for the former half of the journey, are more meagre than we could have wished; but this is hardly surprising, just because this district was the great artery of communication between east and west,[1] and was therefore exposed more than others to the destructive inroads of successive invaders. Especially is this true of the country at the head of Sultan Dagh and along its eastern slope.

Roads from Metropolis to Synnada.—The *Campus Metropolitanus* has been so often ransacked that little new was to be expected there. I copied, however, an interesting fragment of a Latin inscription which seems to mention a village Polynta, but meanwhile I reserve it pending a re-examination of another stone which would appear to bear a companion inscription.

But there is one controverted question on which a thorough exploration should have something to say, I mean the line of the Roman road between the *Campus Metropolitanus* and the plain of Synnada, along which the huge monolithic columns of Dokimian marble were carried to the coast.[2] The modern waggon-road from Synnada crosses the hills by way of Uzun Bunar, joining the Eastern Highway at the lower village (*mahalla* 'quarter') of Karadilli. In 1881 Prof. Ramsay decided that this must have been the line of the Roman road.[3] In 1888, however, he discovered another road passing Baljik-Hissar (or Baghtche-Hissar), beside which it 'crosses a lofty ridge by a finely engineered path, the cuttings and curves of which can still be observed,'[4] and then wends its way over the hills to Ginik and Metropolis. Though he was prevented by circumstances, which the archaeological traveller can appreciate, from exploring this route completely, he was convinced by the evidence of engineering skill that this was the line of a Roman road, and in 1891 he discovered the *Termini* (No. 693) by the side of this road, opposite the village Yiprak (see *CB.* ii. p. 751 ff.). His final suggestion is that there were two roads, a trade-route, and a horse-road "to carry at least the lighter trade" (*CB.* II. p. 752–3). M. Radet has recently adopted the former view, dismissing the latter route (which he has never examined)

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[1] κοινὴ τις ὁδὸς τέτριπται ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐξ Ἐφέσου, Strabo, p. 663.

[2] Strabo, p. 577, κίονες μονόλιθοι μεγάλοι . . . καὶ πλάκες.

[3] *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 481.

[4] *Hist. Geogr.* p. 170.

with the words 'un effroyable chaos de rampes, de gorges et de précipices[1]'; but this does not settle the question, for scientific method does not accept as proved a theory that refuses to take account of negative evidence.

The maps of this district are very inadequate, and though I cannot guarantee the absolute accuracy of the one which I give (Plate V.), I claim that it is nearer the truth than any of the others. Let us briefly describe the routes. (1) The road by Uzun Bunar naturally passes by Atli Hissar, and enters the hills a very short distance to the south of the village Tchoban Kaya, (1 hr. 20 min. from Bedesh). After a short ascent of 350 feet, it goes along the level summit for fully an hour, and then descends 250 feet into an *ova*. Traversing this *ova*, we come to undulating ground, and descending by the very slightest of gradients pass Uzun Bunar 1 hr. 35 min. from the point at which we entered the hills, and reach the *edge* of the Kara-dilli plain in about half an hour more.[2] Here we are only from 150 to 200 feet lower than the Synnada plain, and the whole road is so easy that we are hardly aware that we are crossing hills at all. At Kara-dilli we join the Eastern Highway (to Metropolis).

(2) There is another road to Metropolis which diverges from the former below Atli Hissar and enters a long glen in the hills, appropriately called Uzun Dere ('the long valley'), running in a SW. direction. Fifty minutes after leaving Atli Hissar, we pass Alaka (which lies above us on the left) and travel down the *dere* for an hour until we come to a point at which it bends round to the left. Just at this point it is joined by *the road which crosses the hills viâ Baljik-Hissar*.[3] Starting again, we reach in twenty minutes the foot of a *Bel* (a low broad ridge with hills rising on both sides), whose summit lies 400 feet above us: and after crossing it we make an easy descent of forty-five minutes to the brow of the hills looking down on Ginik, where stands the boundary-stone already mentioned. From here there is a long easy descent of an hour or so to Ginik (Euphorbion). This road also is remarkably easy for a hill-path: the only climbing we have to do is in getting over the *Bel*.

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[1] *En Phrygie* (1895), p. 123.

[2] From this point the village is perhaps about an hour distant. Uzun Bunar seems to be M. Radet's *Fontaine* (see his route-map); but if so, it does not seem to be correctly placed, as the above description shows. Cf. Ramsay, *CB.* p. 752 *n.* 4.

[3] Here is the itinerary from Baljik-Hissar to this point. It will show the erroneousness of M. Radet's description. [It will be noted that this route cannot pass Alaka.] At the village the aneroid read 4,700 ft. The road winds by a fine curve round the *Kalè* and then over the ridge.

9.33 A.M. Leave the *Kalè*.

9.42 ,, Brow of the ridge (5,200 ft.). Reach the summit (5,300) at

9.49 ,, Begin to descend towards the broad ravine, opposite the mouth of which lies Atli-Hissar. The descent is rather steep towards the foot, which is reached (4,800) at

10.8 ,, Cross the ravine at its extreme limit, and begin the ascent over the next ridge, reaching the top (5,200) at

10.32 ,, Thence an easy descent, reaching the foot (5,100) at

10.52 ,, Ascend again till

11.5 ,, (summit 5,350). Thence a winding, undulating path, and a final descent to the *Uzun Dere*, which is reached at

11.25 ,, Level is 5,200. Here we join the Alaka-Ginik road. At 11.5 we were still passing fields belonging to Baljik-Hissar.

Now, though we can testify to the very clear traces of cuttings and curves on the Baljik-Hissar road, we are obliged to conclude that no Roman or other engineer making a road for heavy traffic from Synnada to Metropolis could choose this route: and this conclusion I am sure Prof. Ramsay would at once have reached had he been able to examine the whole line of the road. It is not conceivable that an engineer would select this line for a waggon-road in preference to the easy route viâ Atli Hissár and Alaka, so clearly marked out by nature, if he wished to cross the hills to Metropolis in this direction. What then is the explanation of this engineered road? Baljik-Hissar is an old site.[1] Its inhabitants are called Θυνναρίδαι in the metrical inscr. set up by the township, *δόγματι κοινῷ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου*, in honour of Demetrius, the Asiarch (Ramsay, *Rev. Arch.* 1888, p 220). Thynnaros is a local hero of Synnada, mentioned on its coins,[2] and *Thynnaridai* is obviously the poetical equivalent of *Synnadeis*[3]; that is to say, the settlement at Baljik-Hissar was a village[4] in the territory of Synnada, which had many subject *κῶμαι*. The lists of the Ξένοι Τεκμόρειοι give us the names of several of them, *e.g.* Kandroukome, Koumalettos, etc., and prove that the full designation of their inhabitants was Συνναδεῖς *οἰκοῦντες ἐν* Κανδρουκώμῃ, *ἐν* Κουμαλέττῳ, etc.[5] The *raison d'être* of the road might, therefore, be found in the existence of this village and its need for a direct road to the plain of Metropolis on the one side and to Synnada on the other.[6] This, however, does not seem to constitute a sufficient reason for such a carefully made road; and doubtless Prof. Ramsay has given the true explanation when he suggests that this was the direct horse-road from Dokimion and Synnada to Metropolis, made by the Romans to carry the lighter trade.

The line of the great Roman road, then, is limited to two possible routes, that by Alaka and that by Uzun Bunar. Which are we to accept? On consideration, I think we must regard it as certain that, while there always existed a road *viâ* Alaka, (used at least as a horse-road), the road by which the great blocks of Dokimian marble were transported took the line by Uzun Bunar, joining the Eastern Highway at Kara-dilli. The mutilated milestone discovered by MM. Radet and Ouvré at Atli Hissar (*B.C.H.* 1896, p. 115, *En*

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[1] On the rounded hill above the village, round which the road runs, a very few traces of the old settlement remain. The natives call it the 'Castle' (*Kalè*). The highest point of the *kalè* is 375 ft. above the village.

[2] Drexler, *Num. Zft.* 1889 p. 177; Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen* in *Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* (I. Cl.) 1890 p. 748.

[3] So it is rightly explained by Ramsay in *Hist. Geog.* p. 36 note.

[4] It may be MELISSA (see below).

[5] Sterr. *W.E.* no. 366, 20 and 376, 33, 42, etc. See G. Hirschfeld, *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1888, followed by Ramsay *H. G.* p. 409. We cannot at all accept M. Radet's explanation that *ce dème* [*de Synnada*] *s' appelait Thynnara et qu'il honorait le héros Thynnaros comme éponyme* (p. 123). [I have since come across an excellent parallel in a metrical inscription of Temenothyrai, where the inhabitants of that city are called Τημενίδαι, *i.e.* descendants of the hero Temenos (mentioned on their coins), as the late Dr. Buresch rightly explains it, quoting Θυνναρίδαι as a parallel (*Aus Lydien*, p. 164)].

[6] The road is still used by the villagers of Baljik-Hissar in going to Tchul Ova (*Camp. Metropol.*). At some future time the boundary-stone mentioned in *CB.* ii. p. 752 will be discovered to give us a fixed point, but the peasants will have to re-discover it first. Only one man seems to have seen it: he guided us to the spot,—but it could not be found!

Phrygie p. 124) supplies no decisive evidence, for it would suit either route; but the Uzun Bunar route is easier than the other and only very slightly longer. On this view, the Roman road will pass near Ginik, beside which M. Radet and Prof. Ramsay agree in placing Euphorbion; and this is probably all that is meant by the Peutinger Table's route,

A Synnade Iuforbio[1] mil. xxxvii
Euforbio Ab euforbio
Ab amea mil. xxxvi
Apamea
Ciboton,

when we remember that in the Table the distances are reckoned from city to city, and the cities often lay a little apart from the direct line of road.[2] In order, apparently, to conform to the *appearance* of the Table, M. Radet makes his road climb up among the hills on the north side of the Kara-dilli Ova and high above the Kiz-Kapan pass to Ginik and thence to Metropolis. Can any one who has seen the country between Ginik and Karadilli believe that there is the slightest probability that the road followed such a line? The distances in the Table are, of course, quite wrong. Synnada xxiiii (or xxv) Euphorbion xxvii (or xxviii) Apameia would be nearer the truth.

Khelidonia-Diniae.—On our view of the roads, there are two other important points, viz. Kara-dilli (lower village) and Atli Hissar. At the former there are considerable remains, including a carefully defaced inscr. of about ten lines, of which I could decipher little more than . . . . *καὶ* *Ἀγαπᾷ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ* . . . .; while in the upper village there are the two inscriptions published by F. Sarre, *Arch.-Epig. Mitth.* 1896, p. 31, Nos. 7 and 8. No. 7 is inscribed on an altar-stone, bearing reliefs on the top and four sides,[3] and reads *Καρποφ|όρος μισ|θωτὴς Ἡλί|ῳ καὶ Δὶ εὐ|χήν.*[4] To this site should probably be assigned also *CB.* II. No. 707 *a* and *b*. There seems little doubt that we should place here *Χελιδόνια*, mentioned by Strabo (p. 663), on the trade-route between Metropolis and Holmoi, and identify with it the town Diniae[5] which Manlius passed on his march between Metropolis and Synnada (Liv. xxxviii. c. 15). After emerging from the Kiz-Kapan pass, the road naturally converges on Kara-dilli and then turns away towards the hills.

Sibidounda.—The other important point is Atli Hissar. The neighbourhood of this village is the best situation for an ancient city in the whole district of Synnada (after Synnada itself). Lying in the plain at the point

[1] The I perhaps belongs only to the word PHRYGIA written across this route.

[2] Whence it follows that 'the sum of separate distances is decidedly greater than the whole length of the road,' *J.H.S.* 1887 p. 463, where the principle is stated.

[3] They are much worn, but one is the head of an ox.

[4] For the form Δὶ see no. 36 above. In Sarre no. 8 *ὑπερὶ* is exceedingly common in such Byzantine inscriptions: read also *κὲ* [K, with a twirl].

[5] So identified by Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* pp. 142 and 171 and Radet, Map in *En Phrygie* (where it is placed at Kara-dilli).

where the roads from Metropolis converge, surrounded by fertile lands and supplied with water, it might naturally be expected to correspond to an important ancient site; and we find as a fact that the remains here are more considerable than any other unidentified ruins anywhere near. Now there is an independent city belonging to the country around Synnada which has not been plausibly located, viz. Sibidounda. It struck coins at least from the time of M. Aurelius to that of Gordian, and is given as a bishopric of Phrygia Salutaris under the metropolis Synnada by the *Notitiae*, where the name occurs under forms which are only slight variations[1] of the one form Sibindos or Sibindon, as the following Table shows:—[2]

Not. VII.	Later editions of Not. VII			Not ed. De Boor.	Not. Leonis.	Not. III. and X.
	Not. IX.	Not. VIII.	Not. Basilii.			
Σιβήνδου	Σεβίνδου	Σικνόδου	Σιβινδοῦ	Σιμίνδου	Σιβινδοῦ	Σινβίνδου

That the city belongs to the district around Synnada is clearly shown by the order of names in the *Notitiae* which is as follows:—

4. Ipsos	7. Otrous [De Boor]	10. Phyteia (= Beudos[4])	13. Lysias
5. Prymnessos	8. Sibindon (-os)	11. Hierapolis	14. Augustopolis
6. Meros[3]	9. Polybotos	12. Eucarpia	15. Brouzos.

Now if this list be compared with that of Hierocles, we find that corresponding to Sibidounda is the corrupt name Δεβαλικία, which is given after Augustopolis [Κλῆρος Ὀρίνης and Κλῆρος Πολιτικῆς, *Hist. Geog.* p. 178, *CB.* p. 635] and before Lysias, Synnada, Prymnessos, etc. This fact was pointed out by M. Radet (*En Phryg.* p. 115) and is accepted by Prof. Ramsay, who explains the corruption as due to a copyist's error, Σ passing into Δ and Δ into Λ. I would suggest, then, that Atli Hissar with its fine situation and numerous remains[5] is far the most suitable site for a city of the importance of Sibidounda; and this situation suits perfectly the order of Hierocles 'when we recognise,' to use Prof. Ramsay's words, 'that Lysias was in Oinan Ova [see below] and that thus the three cities were closely connected by a line of road' (*CB.* p. 753).[6] This identification would accord excellently with the *Termini*

[1] Excepting the corruption Σικνόδου (κ for β).

[2] *Not. Basilii* [=*Not.* i. in Parthey-Pinder] and *Not. Leonis* edited by Gelzer (*Georg. Cyprii Descriptio Orb. Rom.*). De Boor's *Not.* in *Zft. f. Kirchengesch.* xii. p. 528.

[3] The intrusion of Meros is probably to be explained by the circumstance that it was formerly subject to Prymnessos (see Part i. p. 424).

[4] 'Boudeia and Phyteia are perhaps other forms of the name Beudos Vetus' (*H.G.* p. 143). This is clearly right.

[5] Inscriptions are published by Ramsay, *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 299, by MM. Legrand and Chamonard, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 289–90, and by MM. Radet and Ouvré, *B.C.H.* 1896, p. 109 f.

[6] We might compare, for example, Hierocles' order Sinethandos, Laodikeia Katakekaumenè, Tyriaïon; or Homonadeis, Ilistra (*Ilisra*), Laranda (*Karaman*), Derbe (*Gudelissin*). A protest must be made against the exaggerated stress that is often laid on the precise order of names in Hierocles (or the *Notitt.*) We have a good specimen in M. Radet's reasoning about Κλῆρος

(*CB.* No. 693 and p. 751; see above), if the name Sibidounda (in any form) is mentioned there, but the stone is so badly worn that the central letters of the name will never be read with any certainty.[1] Prof. Ramsay himself suggests Baljik Hissar or Bedesh, where M. Radet determines an ancient site, as suitable for Sibidounda (p. 753); but the former we have seen to be a village subject to Synnada, not an independent city: whence it follows *à fortiori* that Bedesh was a *κώμη* too.[2] Our localization at Atli Hissar, on the direct lines of communication with Pisidia, suits also the fact that the coins of the city show a Pisidian type, the goddess Helena between the Dioskouroi,[3] and are similar in fabric to Pisidian coins.[4] It is probable that, if the lists of the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi* were complete, we should find mention of Sibidounda, considering how largely the district round Synnada figures there.

According to this identification of Sibidounda, the village MELISSA, on or near one of the roads from Synnada to Metropolis, where Alcibiades was killed and buried and where Hadrian erected a statue to his memory in Parian marble, must be placed at Bedesh or at Baljik Hissar. The only evidence is Athenaeus xiii., c. 34, 'and we too saw the tomb of Alcibiades at Melissa, on our journey from Synnada to Metropolis'[5]; and it is obvious that these words do not fix the precise situation. It is probable that they were travelling by the direct horse-road, but even if they were taking the waggon-road, and the tomb of the famous Athenian were some little distance off it, at Baljik Hissar, they would certainly turn aside to visit it and then continue their journey. In either case they would have seen it 'on their journey from Synnada to Metropolis.'[6]

'Ορίνης, Κλῆρος Πολιτικῆς, Δεβαλικία, Λυσίας, Σύναδα (Hier. 677, 3–7). Synnada is fixed. A town 'Orine' is placed at Tchukurdja in a mountainous district (on evidence for a criticism of which it is sufficient to refer to *CB.* ii. pp. 635, 687, etc.), whence it follows that Κλῆρ. Πολιτ. 'le Domaine Urbain' designates the neighbouring plain Kutchuk Sitchanli Ova. *Le classement du Synecdème exige qu'on y place non seulement* Κλῆρ. Πολ., *mais encore l'évêché qui lui fait suite dans le catalogue* Δεβαλικία [=Sibidounda] . . *qui se place tout naturellement à Karadirek, dans l'angle oriental du Kutchuk-Sitchanly-Ova. Lysias, qui vient ensuite, tombe à Éfek-keui* [Effe Sultan]. The topography of Asia Minor would soon be settled, if such reasoning were admitted!

[1] I examined the stone on two occasions. CIB is certain (the first letter is not so rounded as the C above and may be a mis-cut for S): OS is also certain. There are remains of a letter below B (in the line above), which on the first examination I took for a badly-formed I, but the second time it seemed to be the tail of an S. There is room for other four letters, for the space between LIB and PROC is greater than Prof. Ramsay's copy shows. SIB[INDEN]OS seems quite probable.

[2] Which agrees with the insignificant character of the ruins there.

[3] *CB.* p. 755 NOTE 1; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. grecq.* p. 345; *Reisen in Lykien etc.* ii. p. 168 ff. (reliefs): G. F. Hill, *B.M. Catal. of Lycia, Pamph., and Pisid.* p. lvii.

[4] For example, coins of Ariassos, Andeda, etc. A cursory glance at Hierocles' list of towns in Pamphylia might lead the reader to think that Sibidounda is really to be found there under the form Σίνδαυνδα. But if he takes the trouble to compare the *Notitiae*, he will see that Σίνδαυνδα corresponds to Σανδίδων, Σανδίδου, or Κανδίδου, *i.e.* Andeda.

[5] Here is the whole passage: . . *ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη ἐν Μελίσσῃ κώμῃ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου. εἴδομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἐν Μελίσσῃ τοῦ 'Αλκιβιάδου μνῆμα, ἐκ Συνάδων εἰς Μητρόπολιν ἀφικνούμενοι· ἐν ᾧ κατ' ἔτος θύεται βοῦς, διακελευσαμένου τοῦτο τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου 'Αδριανοῦ βασιλέως· ὃς καὶ ἀνέστησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι Παρίου λίθου εἰκόνα τὸν 'Αλκιβιάδην.*

[6] May there not be something more than a mere coincidence in the occurrence of the name

Lysias.—Everything that is known about Lysias, which was probably a Seleucid [1] foundation, will be found in *CB.* ii. p. 754 f.[2] The name is there assigned to the 'city whose ruins are seen on a mound between Oinan and Aresli.' In support of this localisation Prof. Ramsay quotes a passage from the *Acta S. Abercii*, where it is said that one day while engaged in his apostolic labours in the Pentapolis, Avircius found himself athirst and without water on a lofty mountain, *ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως Λυσίας*; whereupon, *κλίνας τὰ γόνατα προσηύξατο καὶ ἀνέβλυσεν πηγὴ καθαροῦ νάματος. καὶ πάντες οἱ διψῶντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκορέσθησαν. ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ καιροῦ Γονυκλισία ἐπεκλήθη.* The sacred fountain and 'Place of Knee-bending,'[3] as Prof Ramsay says, are evidently on the mountains bounding the Pentapolis on the east, and south of the Sandykly hills, which lie over against Synnada (p. 755). It seemed well worth while to make a search for this fountain. We crossed the mountains twice, from Karghyn to Baljik-Hissar and from Yiprak to Karghyn, without discovering anything. But at Karghyn and afterwards at several other villages we heard of a fine *bunar* in the mountains S.E. of the village Mingile (Mingine, wrongly, in Kiepert's map), called *Giaour Oluk*, i.e. 'Giaour spout.' This unique name promised well, and we set out on a journey of three hours up Gumular Dagh to examine it. Arrived at the spot, we found a copious spring surrounded by the ruins of what had been a square building, as we judged from the foundations, for hardly any of the numerous squared blocks remain in their original position, though a few have been roughly thrown together again to enable the water to flow through the stone spout into two rectangular troughs. It is probable that both the spout (which has given its name to the *bunar* and to the *yaila* around) and the troughs are ancient work, and that we have here a genuine old fountain,—a fact recognised by the traditional Turkish name *Giaour Oluk*.[4] Its position is marked approximately in the map

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Baljik-Hissar 'Honey Castle' at a site which, as we have seen, may be Μέλισσα? The suggestion (which occurred to me independently) was made in *Hist. Geog.* p. 36 *n.* I do not, however, mean that the Greek name was translated by the Turks. M. Radet asserts (*En Phryg.* 123) that *rien n'est plus fréquent, dans l'onomastique de l'Anatolie, que ce remplacement du terme grec ancien par un mot turc offrant une signification identique* (*La Lydie etc.* p. 36 n. 2): but he shows no proof. There is some doubt as to whether the real name is Baljik or Baghtche ('garden') Hissar [or Assar]. From the rude pronunciation of the peasants which runs the words together, it is impossible to decide. If you ask them which is the correct form, they answer 'The two are one'! One of the *Hodjas* assured me that the former was more correct, but they do not seem really to know. W. M. R. was corrected for saying Baljik and assured that Baghtche was the real name.

[1] The name Lysias is connected with Seleucid history: Lysias, a general of Seleucus Nikator in 216 B.C. (Polyaen. iv. 9, 5), may have been the founder of the city.

[2] Cp. also *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 497.

[3] See *CB.* ch. xvii. p. 714; *Church in R.E.* p. 436 n., 'At the source of a stream among the mountains between Synnada and Hieropolis was a place called Gonyklisia—*i.e.* where the early rite *γονάτων κλίσις* was held. This remote place was clearly a secret meeting-place; and after the meetings had ceased, and the archaic term was no longer understood, a foolish legend grew up to explain the name; see *Expositor* 1889, p. 262.'

[4] The name itself is sufficient proof, for it states in so many words that this is a 'non-Turkish fountain': compare, for example, *Giaour Ören*, the name of the ruins of Trajanopolis. The Turkish number ΙϚΛΛ which is scratched on one of the fallen blocks is a mere

(Plate V.). Now if it be remembered that the whole space between the Pentapolis and Oinan Ova is occupied by Gumular Dagh and its spurs, it is clear that this situation corresponds very well with the description 'over against Lysias.' I have not the slightest doubt, therefore, that *Giaour Oluk* represents Γουνκλισία, and that we have found an important confirmation of the site of Lysias in Oinan Ova.

One or two inscriptions of Lysias may be added.

46. At Oinan—

| ////ΜΙΟΝΚΑΙCΑΡΟCΔΟΥΛΙ//// | Ἄ]μιον Καίσαρος δούλ[η·

Relief

Relief

ΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΩ
ΤΩΙΔΙΩΑΝΔΡΙΚΑΙCΑΡΟCΔΟΥ vac.
//ΩΙΠΠΓ////////ΓΓ////Ο¯////
vac.

τὸ ἡρῷον Διαδουμένῳ
τ]ῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ Καίσαρος δού-
λῳ] . . .

47. *Ibid:* carved on a rectangular block.

+ Ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς τοῦ χωρίου.

48. *Ibid.* Fragment of a sepulchral *stele:* on pediment, relief of eagle standing with outstretched wings.

. . ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ μνήμε χάριν Σώστρατος.

At Karadja Ören in the S. corner of Oinan Ova there is a fragment of a similar *stele* with...[μη]τρὶ κ[αὶ] πατρί. . .

KINNABORION.—After traversing Oinan Ova, the Eastern Highway crosses a ridge which bounds the *ova* on the north and enters the great plain called Karamyk Ova, the lower part of which has been transformed by centuries of neglect into one enormous marsh, extending from below Geneli well on to Karamyk. In this large plain, which runs right up to the edge of Phrygia Paroreios, there is room for several cities; but only two can be certainly assigned to it, Kinnaborion and Holmoi. Kinnaborion is discussed in *J. H. S.*, 1887, p. 495 (No. lx). It is first mentioned in the Tekmorian Lists of the third century[1]: by 451 A.D. it had been raised to a bishopric, a rank

recent *graffito:* I saw it again on a *tcheshme* at Utch Eyuk, in the valley of the Tembrogios. It means 1871 A.D.

[1] Κινναβοριάτης, Sterrett *W.E.* no. 366, 33 and 46 (=*J.H.S.* 1883, p. 23 ff.); Κινναβορεύς, no. 374, 2 and 15, no. 378, 5 and 9; Κιννα-βορήνος, no. 366, 32.

which it holds also in the earlier *Notitiae* (dating from ca 700), where it is placed under Synnada.[1] In accordance with these indications, Prof. Ramsay rightly assigned Kinnaborion to the lower side of Karamyk Ova (*CB.* ii. p. 748 and Map, *J. H. S. l.c.*)[2] The exact site lies in front of the village Armudli, where there is a low mound which clearly conceals ancient ruins, and beside it a *Türbe*[3] built of old blocks. Neither here nor in the village did we find any inscriptions, but a mile or two further on, where the marsh runs up to the mountain side, we discovered a Latin inscription cut on the face of the rocks. As ill-luck will have it, it is now almost entirely obliterated, but it seems to contain the name C. Carist[anius Fronto], and in the meantime I reserve it, pending a re-examination.

The omission of Kinnaborion in Hierocles' list is to be explained by the fact that it was for a time conjoined in one bishopric with Lysias (ὁ Λυσιάδος ἤτοι Κιννα**β**ορίου).

The name Κιννα**β**όριον is connected by Kretschmer[4] with the Lycian personal name χῆtabora, Κινδάβυρις (*Reisen in Lyk.* i. 82): for the assimilation he compares Τρε**β**εννατῶν and Τρε**β**ένδαι, and we may add Ὀροαν**β**νεύς, the ethnic of Ὀρόαν**δ**α in *B.C.H.* iv. (1880), p. 401 (= Loewy, *Inschr. griech. Bild.*, no. 305) and in an inscription of 208/206 B.C. from Egypt (*Class. Rev.* 1898, p. 275 ff.). This seems probable: a similar relation between place name and personal name is seen in Κί**δ**ραμος—Κι**δ**ραμούας (No. 66), Tottaion—Tottes, etc.

Holmoi.—The villages of Karamyk and Ak-kharim both contain a certain number of remains, but they have probably been all carried. An ancient site, however, undoubtedly existed beside Karadja-Ören ('Blackish Ruins'), the most important of the villages in Karamyk Ova at the present time. At a short distance east of the village the natives still point out an old site (*eski ören*), part of which is occupied by a deserted cemetery, while the village itself is full of remains of all kinds built into the mosque, *Türbe*,[5] fountains, and walls. Inscriptions unfortunately are almost non-existent; the demand for good building stone has doubtless caused the destruction of many within comparatively recent times.[6] Only two fragments were found: one has been published in Heberdey and Wilhelm's *Reisen in Kilikien* p. 163 (No. 272); the other is possibly a fragment of an honorary inscription.

49. ////ICKAICω//// κτίστη]ς καὶ σω[τὴρ τῆς πόλεως ?

[1] τὸν Κηναβορίου *Not.* vii. 170, ix. 353; ὁ Κιννα**β**ωρίου viii. 443; ὁ Κιναβωρίου *Not. Basil.* 389 (ed. Gelzer); ὁ Κιννε**β**ορίου *Not.* De Boor.

[2] A site 'perhaps near Geneli' is proposed in *J.H.S.*, but the few remains that the village contains have probably been carried.

[3] For the significance of this fact cp. above, Part I, Vol. xvii. p. 400.

[4] *Einleitung in d. Gesch d. Griech. Spr.* p. 307. He wrongly calls it Κιννα**β**ορα, not observing the occurrence of the city name in the *Notitiae*.

[5] Cp. Kinnaborion (above).

[6] The basement of the fine mosque-minaret is composed entirely of old blocks re-faced: a small 'door-stone' may be seen built in near the top.

It seems clear that this site is to be identified with Holmoi mentioned by Strabo (p. 663) on the eastern trade-route *ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Παρωρείου*. The name may be a descriptive epithet, like Trapezopolis, and not the Grecized form of a native name, and *ὅλμος* would indeed be a neat description of the site of Karadja-Ören, as one sees it coming from Tchai. In *CB.* ii. p. 748–9, Bazar-Agatch, two miles N.E. from Karadja-Ören, is taken as the site of Holmoi, but the remains there are inconsiderable—some squared blocks, Byzantine pillars, and a few fragments of ornamental work—and I came to the conclusion that an ancient site could hardly be placed there.

PHRYGIA PAROREIOS.[1]

For the definition of Phrygia Paroreios, a district so clearly marked off by nature, see *Hist. Geog.* pp. 139–140. It may be roughly described as a long plain running N.W. to S.E. between the parallel ranges of Sultan Dagh and Emir Dagh, as far as Ilghin (Tyriaïon), where it is bounded by the hilly country which stretches between these two ranges (see the Map, Pl. IV.).

Iulia-Ipsos.—See *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 490 (cp. *Hist. Geog.* p. 434). Amongst the critics Tchai and Ishakli (Sakli) dispute the claim to the heritage of Julia-Ipsos. The actual site will probably never be found, for most of the remains have been used up by the Seljuks for the fine buildings whose ruins are still to be seen at Tchai[2] and more especially at Ishakli. But it seems to me that the probability is all in favour of a site quite near to the latter.[3] Both Tchai and Ishakli are market towns, but Ishakli is the more important of the two, and it is the governmental centre (a *mudurlik*). Tchai appears to have been selected as a site in post-Roman times on account of the copious supply of *good* water which comes down from the mountain beside the village, but is not to be found anywhere else in the neighbourhood.[4] Moreover, it is a most striking and important circumstance that the modern governmental arrangements in this district repeat the ancient facts. Not only is the boundary between the vilayets of Broussa and Konia the same as the ancient boundary between Salutaris and Pisidia (see Ramsay, *J. H. S. l.c.*; cp. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*), but the centres of government are now Ak Sheher (corresponding to Philomelion), Bulawôdin (corresponding to Polybôtos) and Ishakli (likewise in all probability corresponding to Julia-Ipsos).[5] Lastly, the most important remains, both ancient[6] and Seljuk, are at Ishakli. A fragmentary inscr. has

[1] Some inscr. from the north side of Paroreios (along Emir Dagh) are published by Hogarth, *J.H.S.* 1890, p. 158 ff.

[2] The site at Karadja-ören, however, was probably the chief quarry for the buildings at Tchai.

[3] The Peut. Tab. gives no help, as one of its two numbers is wrong.

[4] The water in the plain is not good for drinking and there is no other copious stream flowing down from the Sultan Dagh nearer than Deresinek, a village lying up a glen far off the road.

[5] Synnada, Prymnessos (Kara Hissar,) and others might be added.

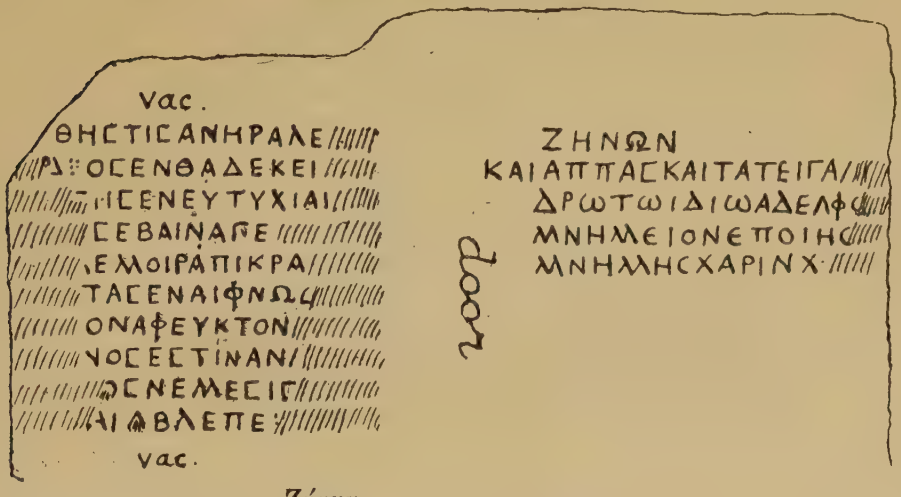
[6] Amongst these is a large building of Byzantine work. At Tchai, apart from the Seljuk ruins, there are only some Byzantine blocks in fountains, etc.

been published by Mr. Hogarth *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 161 (No. 7). I have two to add, the first copied at Ishakli, the second at Yaka Sinek, a village about three miles to the North-West. These arguments seem to show distinctly that the importance of Ishakli at the present day is not a new fact, but only a continuation of the conditions which existed in Graeco-Roman and Seljuk times.

50. Ishakli: a square slab with large cross carved across the field, and on the upper margin,

| ////ΑΠΟΛΦΑΝΟΥΠΑΠΑ//////// | 'Απολ(ο)φάνου(ς) Παπᾶ . . .

51. Yaka Sinek: doorstone with inscr. on either side.



Ζήνων
καὶ 'Αππᾶς καὶ Τατεὶ[ς] 'Αλεξάν-
δρῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφ[ῷ
μνημεῖον ἐποίησ[αν
μνήμης χάριν· χ[αῖρε?

The metrical part is hardly worth the trouble of an attempt at restoration.

L. 1. *Εὐη]θής τις ἀνὴρ 'Αλέ[ξαν]δρος ἐνθάδε κεῖ[ται.*
ζ]ήσεν (ἐν) εὐτυχίᾳ [κὲ] ἔβα ἵνα γ' ἔ[λδετο θυμός·? (A. Souter).
εὖτε δ]ὲ μοῖρα πικρὰ [ζωῆς νιν ἀφήρ]πασεν αἴφνως
πότμ]ον ἄφευκτον . . . . . ἐστιν ἀνά[γκη
. . . . . .

PHILOMELION.[1]—While passing through Ak Sheher, I made a copy of an epigram published in *C.I.G.* 3982 from a very fragmentary copy of Hamilton's

[1] Inscr. of Philom. and vicinity, *C.I.G.* 3982 ff.; Le Bas-Wadd. 1704-5; Sterrett *E.J.* No. 155 and perhaps 163-4; Ramsay in Kuhn's *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachf.* viii. p. 391 (Phrygian);

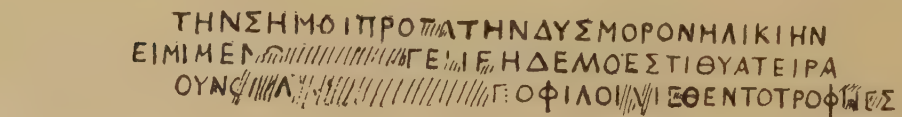
and repeated in an improved form by Kaibel (*Epigr. Graeca e lapid. conlecta*, No. 248), who noticed that it is modelled on *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 164. The stone is much worn and the letters are very faint. If I had not recognized from l. 5 that the inscr. was already published, a closer examination might possibly have furnished a complete restoration of ll. 9–10.

52.

Αἴθαλος Ἐλάτηι τῆι
ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ φιλοστοργίας καὶ μνήμης
αἰωνίου χάριν.

A. Φράζε, γύναι, γενεὴν ὄνομα χθόνα, πῶς δὲ θανοῦσα
ἦλθες δειλαία δύσγαμος εἰς Ἀίδαν,
ὄππως οἱ παράγοντες ἀναγνώωσιν ὁδεῖται
τὴν σὴ[ν λυ]προ[τά]την δύσμορον ἡλικίην.
B. Εἰμὶ μὲν [οὐκ ἀγενής ?], γενεὴ δέ μο(υ) ἐστι Θυάτειρα (-ας ?)
οὔνο[μα μοι δ' Ἐλάτην οἱ]φίλοι<>ἔθεντο τροφ[ῆϵ]ς.
A. Σῆμα δὲ [τίς τό]δ' [ἔχωσϵ]ν ; B. [Ἐμ]ὸς πόσις ὁ πρὶν ἄθικτα
ἡμετέρης λύσασ<ας> ἄμματα παρθενίης.
ὤλεσε δ' οὐ το[κ]ετός με λυγ[ρ]ός, Μοῖραι δὲ ῥοπῇ μοι
εἰς νόσον εἰς πένθη<ι> καὶ μόρον ἠντίασαν.
B. Ἦ καὶ ἄπαις ; A. Οὐ, ξεῖνε· λέλο(ι)πα γὰρ ἐν νεότητι
τ[ρι]σσοὺς ἀρτιγενεῖς παῖδας ἐν ὀρφανίῃ.
B. Εἶεν ἐν ὀλβίστηι πολιῆι τριχί. A. Καὶ σόν, ὁδεῖτα,
εὔδιον εὐθύνοι πάντα Τύχη βίοτον.—
Ὅστις ἐμεῦ στήλλαν βαλέει λίθον οὐκ ἀδικηθείς,
οὗτος τὰν αὐτὰν μοῖραν ἐμοὶ λαχέτω<ι>.

Ll. 8–10.



L. 13. ΡΟΠΗΜΟΙ : ΡΟΠΙΜΟΙ Hamilton.—The epigraphic copy of l. 10 seems to show that this line was made a hexameter: such irregularities sometimes occur in these epigrams. On λῦγρός, see A. Souter in *Class. Rev.*, 1896, p. 420, and 1897, p. 31. The composer retains the Ionic dialect of his model, and adds a little Doric in the imprecatory formula!

53. Geurness keui: ornamented *stele* with standing bird in the triangular pediment.

Μενέλαος καὶ Ἀ[λ]έξανδρος καὶ Μ/ . . . .
Παπίᾳ Καλλίππου τῷ ἑαυτῶφ[ν πατρὶ
μνήμης [χάριν.

Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen* p. 163, no. 271. In *C.I.G.* 3984 (= Wadd. 1704) Hamilton's copy of ll. 7-11 is correct and is wrongly altered by the editors. The inscr. was apparently not completed.

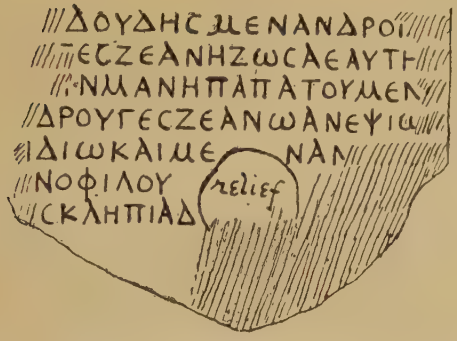
53 *bis.* Gedil keui: a fragment of a Christian inscription.

[. . . εἴ τις . .]
. . χ]εῖρα π[ροσοί]-
σει ἔσται αὐ(τῷ) π[ρὸ]ς
τὸν θεόν.

On the contraction *αὐ* cp. no. 88 below.

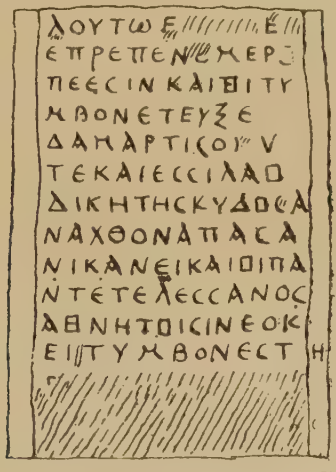
Gisza.—In the Tekmorian Lists we find the ethnic Γισζηνός or Γιζηνός (Sterr. *W.E.* 366, 19 and 75), giving a village name Gisza or Giza, which is clearly the Carian *γίσσα* 'stone.'[1] The following inscription, which lies in a street of Ak Sheher, proves that it was a village subject to Philomelion.

54.



. . Δούδης Μενάνδρου
Γεσζεανὴ ζῶσα ἑαυτῇ
καὶ Ἰ]υμάνῃ Παπᾶ τοῦ Μεν-
άν]δρου Γεσζεανῷ ἀνεψιῷ
ἰδίῳ καὶ Μενάν[δρῳ
Μη]νοφίλου [καὶ
Ἀ]σκληπιάδῃ . . .

55. Azara or Ezara, another subject *κώμη*, mentioned in the same lists (Sterr. 382, 5 and 366, 28) retains its name as Azari keui (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 411, see Map). I copied there the following rudely engraved inscription.



[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Monogissa. Cp. *Hist. Geogr.* p. 412.

. . . ὡς] ἔπρεπεν μερόπε[σ]σιν
καὶ ἐπὶ τύμβον ἔτευξε δάμαρτι σο[ρό]ν τε κάσεσσι,
Λαοδίκῃ τῆς κῦδος ἀνὰ χθόνα πᾶσαν ἱκάνει
καὶ οἳ πάντ' ἐτέλεσσαν ὅσα θνητοῖσιν ἔοικε(ν)
τύμβον τ' ἔστη[σεν . . . . . .

The Τ after τύμβον has been accidentally omitted in the epigraphic text (the ΥΜ being too widely spaced).

Before we discuss the district south-east of Philomelion, a few words must be said about its geographical character. As the traveller leaves Philomelion, his eye wanders over what seems to be (and, roughly speaking, is) an enormous plain stretching in front of him for many weary miles. But this great expanse of country is not one dead level. The plain proper extends only a little beyond the Ilan Yusuf Tchai,[1] the river which rises behind the village Kara-Agha and falls into the Ak Sheher Lake: and on the side of Sultan Dagh it is broken by a succession of low mountain-spurs, between which numerous rivulets run down to join the main stream. Beyond this river the ground slopes gently up to an undulating plateau, diversified by low sand hills above Arkut Khan and extending as far as Ilghin and the hilly country which bounds the Balki Deressi on the East. This plateau is drained by the Balki stream and the river that rises at Doghan Assar and flows past Arkut Khan into the Ilghin Lake.[2] From Philomelion to Iconium two roads are available. One takes the route by Arkut Khan and Ilghin, coinciding with the Eastern Highway as far as Laodiceia Katakekaumenè, where it turns southwards and crosses the mountains to Iconium.[3] This is the line of the modern waggon-road. The other crosses the plain in a south-easterly direction to Balki-keui, whence it turns southwards to Tchigil and then eastwards over the mountains to Konia. This road passes Hadrianopolis and Kaballa (below).

Pisa and Selinda.—Between Philomelion and Kara Agha we discovered two new sites. (1) The first of these is Pisa, which retains its name to the present day. It was situated beside the village Bīssa in the plain under the shadow of the mountain, less than half-an-hour (about a mile and a quarter) from Aghait, the Byzantine Gaita (Cinn. p. 42, *infra*). The village contains numerous remains, but many of the marbles have been destroyed to build a new mosque: the process of destruction was going on when we visited the village. This town has to be distinguished from another Pissa, likewise retaining its name, situated on the hills on the north side of the valley of

[1] So called, at least in its lower course, from a Circassian village on its banks.

[2] I enquired particularly at different places about the course of these streams and all accounts agreed in saying that the Doghan Assar stream flows past Arkut Khan into Ilghin Lake, while the Ayaslar-Urus-Yendin (miscalled Kendil) stream falls into Balki Deressi a little to S. of Ilghin. We crossed the latter about three-quarters of an hour after leaving Ilghin. There is no stream from Doghan Assar joining the Ilan Yusuf Tchai at Kotchash (so far as I heard or could see).

[3] There is also a hill-path from Kunderaz, described by Hogarth, *l.c.* p. 153 f.

Apollonia Pisidiae, and mentioned in the wars of Alexius Comnenus (Nicetas, p. 549, see *CB.* i. p. 186–7). The ancient name of our town is attested by the following inscription, recording the presentation of a statue of Sept. Severus.

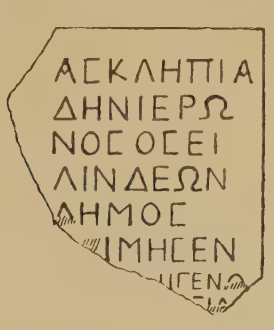
56.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙϹΑΡΑΛΟΥΚΙΟ	Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λούκιο-
ΝϹΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝϹΕΟΥΗΡΟΝΤΕΡ	ν Σεπτίμιον Σεουῆρον Περ-
ΤΙΝΑΚΑϹΕΒΑϹΤΟΝΓΗϹΚΑΙΘΑ	τίνακα Σεβαστόν, γῆς καὶ θα-
Λ▨▨▨ϹΚΑΙΠΑϹΗϹΤΗϹΟΙΚΟΥ	λ[άσση]ς καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκου-
ΜΕ▨▨▨ΔΕϹΠΟΤΗΝΦΙΛΑΙΟϹΜΑ	μέ[νης] δεσπότην, Φίλαιος Μα-
ΡΙΩΝΟϹΕΥΜΕΝΗΤΩΠΕΙϹΕΑ	ρίωνος Εὐμένη τῷ Πεισεα-
ΝΩ▨ΔΗΜΩΠΑΡΕΑΥΤΟΥ	νῶ[ν] δήμῳ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ
ΑΝΕϹΤΗϹΕΝ	ἀνέστησεν.

Εὐμένη in l. 6 for Εὐμένη(ς): cp. Ἑρμογένη, correction to Sterrett No. 169 (below); it is less likely to be a corrupt form of the genitive, and it can hardly be the adjective, agreeing with Σεουῆρον. The form of the ethnic Πεισεανοὶ supplies a parallel to (Τ)οτεανῶν proposed in No. 20, l. 7.

(2) Selinda has left its name to the modern village Selind, which lies further along Sultan Dagh to the south-east. In the cemetery of the village there are some old stones (Phrygian 'doorstones' and other sepulchral slabs bearing traces of inscriptions, architrave fragments, pillars, etc.). Judging from the reports of the natives as to the provenance of the two inscriptions given below, we shall place the ancient site a short distance up the hill side behind the village of Ellesler,[1] which lies on the lower slopes of the mountain, about a mile SSW. of Selind. Here therefore we have another example of the common rule that the modern site is generally some little distance from the ancient one. The site is fixed by the following inscription.

57. Lying by a house beside the *mezarlik* of Ellesler.



Ἀσκληπιά-
δην Ἱέρω-
νος ὁ Σει-
λινδέων
δῆμος
ἐτ]ίμησεν.
. . . . .

[1] They were turned up by a villager while ploughing his field behind the village: the place was shown us by this man's brother.

The township is also mentioned in an inscription now at the village Eregiz or Regiz (pronounced Ereïz or Reïz)[1] in the plain below Bissa (=Sterrett, *Epigr. Journ.* No. 163), where a tombstone is erected by a husband to his wife, the daughter of Menemachos, son of Charidemos of Selinda.[2] It is possible that this village Seilinda or Selinda is the Silindokome mentioned in the *Acta S. Theodori Sykeotae*, see *Hist. Geog.* p. 246.[3] But more probably two Phrygian villages bore this name, one in the Paroreios, another in the territory of Juliopolis (compare Silandos in the Katakekaumene). Both Pisa and Selinda are called merely δῆμος in the inscriptions. It is probable that both were dependent townships, subject to Hadrianopolis, in the same way as a considerable town like Orkistos was subject to Nakoleia until A.D. 331, or Takina, &c., to Apameia (*CB.* p. 296).

58. *Ibid.* A small sepulchral *stele*:

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΑΜΜΙΑΜΕ
ΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΟΝΗCΙΜΩ
ΚΑΙΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΩΜΝΗ
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ

Αὐρηλία Ἀμμία Με-
νάνδρου Ὀνησίμ[ῳ
καὶ Ἐπικτήτῳ μνή-
μης χάριν.

The stones have all been carried away from the site, but the village of Ellesler contains nothing: it is probably of more recent foundation than the other which retains the old name.

Thymbrion—Hadrianopolis Sebaste.—These cities are discussed by Prof. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 491, and *Hist. Geog.* p. 140. According to Xenophon's Itinerary, Thymbrion was situated midway between Kaÿstrou Pedion (probably Ipsos), and Tyriaïon (probably near Kölitolu Yaila in Xenophon's time),[4] 10 parasangs or nearly 35 statute miles from either town.[5] This points to a situation in the neighbourhood of Kotchash. The Fount of Midas (Yassaghan or Yassian Bunar, midway between Ishakli and Philomelion) was apparently in the territory of Thymbrion, and Prof. Ramsay is clearly right in thinking that Thymbrion was the great city of the plain until the foundation of Philomelion by the Pergamenian (or Seleucid) kings. The last mention of Thymbrion occurs in Pliny *N.H.*, v. 95, where the Tymbriani are in the *conventus* of Philomelion. We are therefore led to infer that 'the city was refounded by Hadrian under the name Hadrianopolis' (*J.H.S.*, *l.c.*). Hadrianopolis, which comes between Tyriaïon and Philomelion in Hierocles' list, is mentioned in

[1] Anatolian pronunciation tends to convert *g* between two vowels into a *y* sound and finally to let it drop altogether: cp. Tchigil, now pronounced Tchiyil (below). Regiz is a different village from Egrigioz, which is quite close to Ak Sheher.

[2] The correct reading is CΕΛΙΝΔΕΩC.

[3] The correction Silindo-kome, there suggested in a footnote in place of Silindiconense, is proved to be right by comparison of the Greek original, published by Joannes Theophili in his Μνημεῖα Ἁγιολογικά.

[4] *J.H.S. l.c.*, *Ath. Mitth.* 1889, p. 180–1.

[5] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2: Ἐντεῦθεν (from Kaystrou Pedion) ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως ἐφ ᾗ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴνῳ κεράσας αὐτήν. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Τυριάειον πόλιν οἰκουμένην.

an inscription now at Kara Agha, (Sterr. *E.J.* 160), which, however, does not fix the site; for it is obvious that the inscriptions of the village, which are all built into the mosque and engraved on the same rough reddish sandstone blocks,[1] have been carried, and there are no other remains in the village. A passage in Cinnamus, p. 42, describing the operations of Manuel I. against the Turks in 1145, gives us some help. The Turks after a defeat at Philomelion retired to a place called in Turkish Ἀνδραχμᾶν, whereupon Manuel started in pursuit, *πόλιν τε Ἀδριανούπολιν ὑπερβὰς (διαβαίνει γὰρ καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν Λυκαονίαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο) ἔν τινι χώρῳ Γάϊτα ὄνομα τὴν παρεμβολην ἐποιήσατο, i.e.* crossing into the territory of Hadrianopolis (which includes the whole southern part of Paroreios), he encamped at Gaïta, which is still called Agha-it.[2] An examination of all the villages in this plain led me to the conclusion that Hadrianopolis should be placed beside Kotchash, where there are numerous remains built pell-mell into the *Türbe*-mosque or lying beside it (see Sterrett, *E.J.* Nos. 165–173, and below No. 59). In that case the river Karmeios mentioned on its coins (Ramsay in *Athen. Mitth.*, 1883, p. 76) will be the Ilan Yusuf Tchai.

The importance of the ancient city has passed in some degree to the *mudurlik* Doghan Assar, situated on the slope of Sultan Dagh (like the majority of the villages in this district), and a site at or near the village has been suggested for Hadrianopolis (*J.H.S.* and *Hist. Geog. ll. cc.*); but Doghan Assar lies away in a corner, off the line of the direct road to Iconium, and does not suit the conditions nearly so well as Kotchash. It was probably a *κώμη* subject to Hadrianopolis, like Gaïta, Pisa, and Selinda.

To Hadrianopolis belong the inscriptions of Kotchash (Sterrett Nos. 165-173) and Kara Agha (156-161), Tchetme (162), and Doghan Assar (174 and Sarre, *A.E. Mitth.* xix. p. 37). Some improvements on the published copies may be given here:

No. 156, ll. 3 and 5 are corrected in *Hist. Geog.* p. 178

No. 157, l. 4 read [ζ]ῶν: space for only one letter.

No. 158, l. 3 BACIAICH is clear.

No. 159, l. 1 ΑΒΑCΚΑΝ//ᴗC, *i.e.* Ἀβάσκαντος.

No. 160, l. 4 restore τ[ῇ ἰδίᾳ]: the H is under Δ and the C under N.

No. 162, l. 1 read τῆς Μανίδος, and Τειμολάῳ (as required).

No. 166 apparently reads Αὐρήλιος Σούσ[ου], Αὐξάνων, Θόω[ν][3] Τατεὶ [μν]ήμης χάριν.

No. 168, l. 4 [Π]*απίου*, and in 5 // /EIΩ, *i.e.* [θ]*είῳ* (with angular Θ), since it cannot be [ὑ]ειῷ.

No. 169. The stone is rough both above and below the engraved part, which shows that nothing more was inscribed. Ἑρμογένη is the nomin. case like Εὐμένη in No. 56 (above).

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[1] The lettering is poor and late.

[2] 'Agha-üt, *Herrenpassage*' Tomaschek p. 103. Gaita is also the name of a village near Nicaea, *H.G.* p. 201.

[3] There is hardly space for more than one letter. The last three words are under the relief.

No. 170, l. 1 ΑΝΙΠ, which gives Ἀμπέρως.

No. 174. My copy begins ΟC/////ΑΙΝ (? *αινι*) and continues .....*ν κνουμ|μανει δοκε* [apparently].....[*ατ*]*ιαδ ε ιτου.*

59. Kotchash, in the mosque.

ΑΥΡΕΥCΤΑΘΙC	Αὐρ. Εὐστάθις
ΙΜΕΝΟC	Ἴμενος
ΑΥΡ ϽΚΥΡΕΙΑΜΕΝΕΚΛΕΩC	Αὐρ. Κυρείᾳ Μενέκλεως
ΤΗΕΑΥΤΟΥCΥΝΒΙΩ	τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συνβίῳ
ΜΝΗΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ	μνήμης ἕνεκεν.

For the form Εὐστάθις (=Εὐστάθιος) cp. Πατρίκις and Ἡράκλις (No. 91) and *CB.* ii. No. 264, where reference is made to J. H. Wright, *Harvard Class. Stud.* 1895, p. 59 f.

Ἴμαν (gen. Ἴμενος), with prothetic ι like Ἰσκύμνος for Σκύμνος,[1] etc., is one of a group of names (so common in the Pisidian inscriptions) derived from the name of the god Manes-Men. The frequent occurrence of this group and of other native names in Paroreios and the vicinity is a significant indication of the vitality of the native civilisation. Ἴμαν occurs also in No. 63 (cp. 54), Hogarth *l.c.* No. 19; Μάνης in 65, Hogarth 9, 20, 21; Μανίς Sterrett 162 (see above); Μανία, Hogarth 17 and 20; Μανοσᾶς Hog. 16. Similar names are Ἀσία in 73, Ἀσεύς in 83 (Chr.).

60. Yendin keui.

Παπᾶς Παπίλῳ υἱῷ . . .

In another fragment occurs the name Κόνων (see No. 85).

61. Doghan Assar, a fragment in the mosque.

ΤΥΜΒΩΕΠΙCΤ////	τύμβῳ ἔπι στ-
ΗΛΗΝΑΝΥCΙΟΥΥΙ	ήλην Ἀνυσίου υἱ-
ΕΟCΑΥΤΟΥΕΖΕΤ	έος αὐτοῦ ἕ[ξ] ἐτ-
ΕΩΝΜΝΗΜ////ΕCΤΗC	έων μνήμ[ην ?] ἕστησ[ε-
ΝΓΥΓ////	ν . . . .

Balki dere and Kaballa.—One inscription of Balki keui, and some from other villages on the road between it and Konia, are published by F. Sarre, *A.E. Mitth.* xix. (1896), p. 35 f. I traversed the road from Ilghin by Balki to Tchigil and copied the following inscriptions.

[1] So Ἐνᾶς for Νᾶς, etc.

62. Getchīd keui (in the *Dere*, 2 hrs. 5 min. from Ilghin): in the mosque.

ΜΕΙΡΟCΝΑΔΙΤΗΕΑΥ	Μεῖρος Νᾶδι τῇ ἑαυ(τοῦ)
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗ	γυναικὶ γλυκυτάτῃ
ΚΕΑΥΤΩΖΩΝΚΦΡ	κὲ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν κὲ φρ-
ΟΝΩΝΑΝΕCΤΗCΕΝ	ονῶν ἀνέστησεν.

Νᾶς, Νᾶ (No. 65), Ἐνᾶς[1] belong to the class of *Lallnamen* which appear in all languages and of which Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 334 ff., has collected numerous examples. This class of name is very common in Isauria (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen* p. 123) and Pisidia.

63. Balki keui (¾ hr. from former), in the bridge.

ΑΥΡΜΕΝΝΕ	Αὐρ. Μεννέ-
ΑCΙΜΕΝΘC	ας Ἴ[μ]ενος
ΤΗΕΑΥΤΟΥ	τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
C///ΝΒΙΩΓΛ	σ[υ]νβίῳ γλ[υ-
ΚΥΤΑΤΗΔΟΥ	κυτάτῃ Δού-
ΔΑΚΑΙΤΩΥΩ	δᾳ καὶ τῷ ὑῷ
ΑΥΡΙ//ΙΕΝΙΜΝ	Αὐρ. Ἴ[μ]ενι μν[ή-
////////ΑΡΙΝ	μης χά]ριν
////////////Ν	ἐποίησε]ν.

The name Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ἴμενος occurs twice in Sterr. *W.E.* 373 (30 and 39).

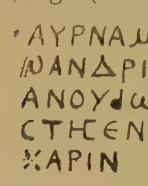
64. Tchigil (Ashagha): poor lettering.

✳	✳
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΔΟΔΑΚΕΟ	Αὐρηλία Δόδα κὲ Ὀ-
ΡΕCΤΙΝΑΤΩ//ΔΙΩΑΝ	ρεστῖνα τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀν-
ΔΡΙΠΟΘΙΝΟΤΑΤΩ	δρὶ ποθινοτάτῳ
Μ//ΥΑ ΑΝΕ:. ΤΗ	Μ[ο]νᾶ? ἀνέστη-
C Α:Μ////////Ν Η	σα[ν] μνή-
ΜΗC · ΧΑΡΙΝ	μης χάριν.

Δόδα also in Sterr. *E.J.* 202. Δόδα, Δούδης, Δούδας are all by-forms of DADA: see Kretschmer, *op. cit.* p. 337.

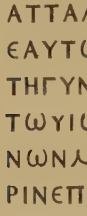
[1] Cp. *CB.* no. 91, p. 269, where Ἐνᾷ τῇ γυναικὶ is rightly read, *Rev. Univ. Midi*, 1895, p. 362.

65. Tchigil (Yokaru), 20 min. East; near the mosque.



Αὐρ. Νᾶ Μάνου τ-
ῷ ἀνδρὶ Παπᾷ Μ-
άνου [Δ]ώδα (? *or* Ἰώδα ?) ἀνέ-
στησεν μ . χ .

66. *Ibid.* on a pillar.



Ἄτταλος
ἑαυτῷ κα[ὶ
τῇ γυναικὶ κ[αὶ
τῷ υἱῷ ζῶ[ν καὶ φρο-
νῶν μνή[μης χά-
ριν ἐποίη[σεν.

Besides these there is another fragment and an inscription on a tall *bomos*; the latter was so faint and worn that I failed to make an intelligible copy.

These inscriptions and the numerous remains at Tchigil and Balki, which were said to have come from a site called Bel Ören on the easy hill-road between Balki and Tchigil,[1] attest an old settlement of considerable importance. Prof. Ramsay[2] would place at Tchigil the town KABALLA, birthplace of Constantine V. Copronymos,[3] an important fortress on the road between Hadrianopolis and Iconium, the Caballu-come of the Peut. Table's false road Laudicia Catacecaumene xxiii Caball. xxxii Sabatra. The important passage for the topography is Cinnam. p. 42 ff. already quoted in part. In 908 it was held by a certain Andronicus and is described as ὀχυρόν τι φρούριον, οὐ πάνυ τι μήκοθεν τοῦ Ἰκονίου διακείμενον (Zon. xvi. 14). Dr. Tomaschek gives some additional references: in 822 Choireas held φρούριον τοῦ Ἀνατολικοῦ ἡ Καβάλα (Theoph. Cont. p. 72); ἐν τῷ Καβάλᾳ λεγομένῳ ἄστει (*Vita Euthym.* ed. De Boor, c. xi. 8: cp. xiii. 20).[4]

I think that an examination of the passage in Cinnamus shows clearly that Kaballa was situated much nearer to Konia than Tchigil. Here is the course of events. After a defeat near Gaïta, the Sultan Masut fled to Iconium; but not desiring to be shut up in the city, he divided his army into three detachments, leaving one to guard the capital, placing the second on a steep behind the city and the third (with himself at its head) ἐν δεξιᾷ 'relying on the strength of the mountain which stretches between Iconium and the fortress Kaballa.' Manuel now reached Kaballa and a battle ensued (on the right of the city). Part of the Sultan's army was routed and fled, pursued by the Romans. Meanwhile the remainder of the Roman army was attacked by an ambush reinforced by the guard left in Iconium (who sallied out, taking courage from the fact that Manuel was being carried by

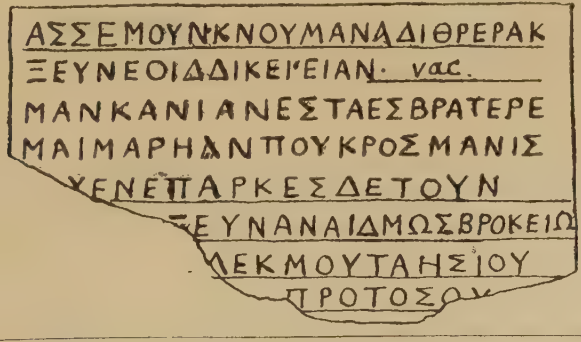
[1] The ordinary road keeps along the *Dere*.
[2] *Hist. Geog.* p. 359.
[3] Mich. Glykas p. 528.
[4] Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 103.

the ardour of pursuit far from Iconium) and by the detachment posted on the steep behind the city (*τῆς πόλ. ὀπίσω*). On the return of the pursuers, the Romans succeeded in repelling the attack when night came down. In the morning Manuel 'set out thence and encamped before Iconium'[1]: but he gave up the idea of besieging it and after burning *τὰς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομὰς* he began to retire again towards Lake Pasgousa (p. 58, *i.e.* Lake Karalis, Beysheher Giöl). Meantime the Sultan was reinforced by troops from beyond Iconium[2] and hastened to attack the Roman army at the difficult pass Tchivrili-tchemani[3] ('the sinuous declivity,' Tomaschek, p. 101) . . .

This account shows clearly that Tchivrili-tchemani is the pass a few miles west of Iconium, beyond which the road to Vasada and Lake Karalis diverges from the Iconium-Hadrianopolis road,[4] and not the pass just east of Tchigil. It is equally clear that Kaballa is quite near Iconium, as Zonaras says (xvi. 14). Dr. Sarre (p. 35) would place it at Kavak keui, where there are remains (especially many fragments of Byzantine sculpture). I have not traversed this part of the road and therefore cannot offer an opinion about the site, but the situation suits the conditions. Whether the *Gleichlaut der Worte Kavak mit Kaballa* is more than an accident is doubtful, for *Kavak* ('poplar') is a common village name: but it is quite possible that the Turks in taking over the old name gave it a form which had a meaning in their own language.

Tyriaion.—Some inscriptions of Tyriaïon and the district between it and Laodiceia Katakekaumene have been published by Mr. Hogarth in *J.H.S. l.c.* p. 162 ff.[5] There has recently been a great destruction of marbles to obtain good stones for the new government buildings at Ilghin, but I succeeded in adding a number of inscriptions to the small list already known. Individually they may not always be very interesting, but in the mass they are not unimportant, and I give many of them in cursive only rather than omit them altogether. The first will interest philologists.

67.



[1] Cp. Nicetas, p. 72, ed. Bonn.

[2] *οἱ ἀνωτάτω πόλεως ᾠκοῦντο Ἰκονίου*, p. 46.

[3] *Τζιβρηλιτζημανὶ χῶρος δυσπρόσοδος εἴπερ τις κ.τ.λ.*, p. 47.

[4] Cp. *Hist. Geog.* p. 359 *note* †.

[5] In no. 13, l. 2 *fin.* I read ΓΑΙΟΥ; no. 14, the epigraphic text is correct. One inscr. of Tyriaïon in Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen*, p. 162, no. 270.

For a discussion of the Phrygian inscriptions reference may be made to Ramsay in Kuhn's *Zft.f. vergl. Sprachf., N.F.* viii. pp. 381–410 (where all the inscriptions are collected[1]); notes by Fick in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge z. Kunde d. indg. Sprachen*, xiv. (1889), p. 50 f., and Ramsay, *ibid.* p. 308 ff.; A. Torp, *Zu den phryg. Inschr. aus röm. Zeit* (Kristiania, 1894) and *Zum Phrygischen* (*Ibid.* 1896).

Ll. 2, 6. Ξεννη or Ξενυα, a fem. name, occurs several times in N.W. Phrygia: at Nacoleia (Ramsay, *l.c.* Nos. xv., xvi), at Apia and in upper Tembrogios valley (unpublished).

L. 3, μανκαν ιαν εσταες . . . 'the monument which . . . set up.'

68. Mahmud Assar, in the cemetery: letters rather faint.

ΙΟCCЄΜΟΥ////ΝΟΥΛ//	ιος σεμου[ν κ]νουμ-
ΑΝЄΙΚΑCЄΥ////ΑΔΑΚЄΪ	ανει κα[κ]ευ[ν] αδακε[τ
ΤΙΤΤЄΤΙΚΜЄΝΟCΑΤΤΙ	τιττετικμενος αττι-
ЄΑΔЄΙΤΟΥ vac.	εαδ ειτου.

κακευν: cp. κακεν, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 289 (cp. *B.C.H.* 1896, p. 111).

αττιεαδ: so in *C.I.G.* 3986 (near Ilghin) according to Seetzen's copy, while Hamilton's has ΑΠΙCΑΔ; ατιαδ, Hogarth, No. 3; αστιαν, Ramsay, No. xiv., -ττιαδ, No. xi., -ιαδ according to my copy of Sterr. *E.J.* 174.

69. Arkut Khan:

COYCOΥΛΡЄ////	Σούσου Ἀρε-
ΛΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ	λίᾳ γυναικὶ
ΜΝΗΜΗC	μνήμης
ΧΑΡΙΝΠΑΡЄ////	χάριν παρ' ἐ-
ΛΥ¯ΟΥΚΑΙ	αυ[τ]οῦ καὶ
ΖΩΝЄΛV	ζῶν ἑαυ-
ΤΩ	τῷ.

Σούσου occurs frequently in this neighbourhood, Sterr. *E.J.* 156 (better in *Hist. Geog.* p. 178 *n.*) and 166, Hogarth *l.c.* Nos. 17, 25, 27. On the name, which is perhaps another *Lallname*, see Kretschmer, *op. cit.* p. 352.

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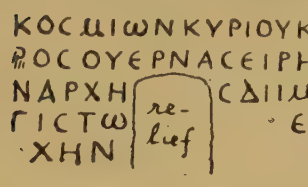
[1] Except the two fragments added by Sterr. *E.J.* 174 (see above) and 186; three added by Hogarth *l.c.* nos. 1-3; and one by MM. Legrand and Chamonard, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 289 (better in *B.C.H.* 1896, p. 111): a copy of this inscription which I made in 1896 reads ΑΔΔΑΚЄ ΤΟΡΔЄΩC etc., the last letter being slightly blurred in the inside. In *B.C.H.* 1896 *l.c.* MM. Radet and Ouvré collect a few of those previously published, in ignorance, apparently, of the articles quoted above.

70. Eldesh, in a cemetery:



Κοσμίων κυρίου Καίσα-
ρ]ος οὐέρνας εἰρη-
νάρχης Διὶ Με-
γίστῳ εὐχήν.

It seems somewhat strange to find the *Eirenarchate* held by an Imperial *verna*. Was he connected with an Imperial Estate? The *Eirenarchate* is discussed by Prof. O. Hirschfeld, *Berl. Akad. Sitzungsber*, 1891, p. 868 ff.; cp. *CB.* i. p. 68. The relations between the *Eirenarch* (with his *gens d'armes*, διωγμῖται), the *Paraphylakes* (heads of the village police, see above No. 14), and the Στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας cannot as yet be definitely determined; but it seems probable that the Eirenarch (who was responsible to the municipal authorities) was charged with the maintenance of public order in the city and its territory as a whole, and was therefore the superior of the local *paraphylakes*.

71. Ilghin: in large cemetery.

ΒΑΤΑΚΗCΜΑΙΦΑΤΕΙΤ
ΗΜΗΤΡΙΜΝΗΜΗCΕ
ΝΕΚΕΝ

Βατάκης Μαιφάτει τ-
ῇ μητρὶ μνήμης ἕ-
νεκεν.

Βατάκης or Βαττάκης was the name of a family which held the priesthood of the Great Mother of the Gods at Pessinus, at the time of the campaign of Cn. Manlius (Polyb. xxii. 20, 5 παραγίγνονται Γάλλοι παρὰ Ἄττιδος καὶ Βαττάκου) and in the time of Marius (Plut. *Vita Marii*, v. 17).

Μαιφάτεις is an interesting name. The masc. form occurs as the name of a Galatian slave [but Phrygian by race] in an inscr. at Delphi, Μαιφάτας τὸ γένος Γαλάταν (Wescher-Foucart, *Inscr. rec. à Delphes*, No. 189) and at Tokat in Pontus Galaticus (*C.I.G.* 4184, better *Ath. Mitth.* xiv. p. 316) along with Ζαραῆτος (gen.) for which Dr. J. H. Mordtmann aptly quotes Hesych. Ζαρῆτις· Ἄρτεμις, Πέρσαι. The first element of the name is seen also in Μαι-βουζάνης (Cataonia, *B.C.H.* 1883 p. 130), as is clear from Μιθροβουζάνης, the name of the Cappadocian general at the battle of the Granicus (Diod. Sic. xvii. 21: cp. xxxi. 22): also in Μαιδάτας at Cos (Paton-Hicks, No. 10*b* 73, and No. 44 = *B.C.H.* v. p. 225), and perhaps also in Μαικιάνης at Cibyra (*B.C.H.* ii. p. 595) and Μαίκυος at Myrina (*B.C.H.* vii. p. 211). Just as Ζαραῆτος goes back to Ζαρῆτις, and Μιθροβουζάνης to Mithras, so the Μαι- group is derived from the goddess Ma ('the mother,' as every child knows!), worshipped especially at Comana (Capp.) but also in Rhodes, probably in Cos, and in other parts of the Asiatic mainland.

72. *Ibid.*

Ταταὶς Κιδραμούῃ ἀνδρὶ | μνήνης ἕνεκεν.

Κιδραμούας is related to the city-name Κίδραμος, as Attes to Attouda Tottes (Tatas) to Tottaion (Tataion), and many others quoted in *Hist. Geog.* p. 241. The name occurs in Pamphylia (Κιδραμύας, Κυδραμούας, Lanckor. Nos. 98, 65), in Pisidia (Κιδραμᾶς *C.I.G.* 4366*w*), and the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier (Κιδραμόας-Κιδραμᾶς Sterr. *E.J.* 39, l. 30 and 46, l. 13, Κιδρομᾶς *CB.* 127, p. 310 improving Sterr. 45). Cp. Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 333.

73. Ilghin: now lying beside the new Depôt.

'Αχιλλεὺς | 'Αχιλλεῖ | *ἀνεψιῷ* | *μνήμης* | *χάριν σὺν* | *γυναικὶ* 'Ασίᾳ.

'Ασία and 'Ασεὺς (No. 83) are interesting old names: they are clearly connected with the old divine names ACEIC, the title of the native Laodiceian deity, which was perhaps of Syrian origin (see *CB.* i. p. 33), and 'Ασία, which remained as an epithet of Athene in Colchis and at Las in Laconia (Paus. iii. 24, 7).

74. *Ibid.* Μενεκράτ|ης 'Αππίᾳ | *θυγατρὶ* | *μνήμης* | *χάριν.*

75. Ilghin: large cemetery.

Δίδυμος | 'Ακυλείνῃ *θ*|*υγατρὶ ἀνέ*|[*σ*]*τ*[*η*]*σεν μν*|[*ή*]*μης χάριν.*

76. Ilghin: in a *tcheshme.*

Αἰλία Μάξιμα καὶ Αὐρή(λιος) Νί[κ]ων ἑαυτοῖς [μ]νήμης χάριν.

77. Ilghin: in another *tcheshme.*

Εὐχάρι[σ]τος Εὐ|*φροσύνῃ γυναικὶ* | *καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶντι* | *μνήμης χάριν.*

78. Tchaüshji keui (head of Ilghin lake): 'door-stone' with pediment ornamented with floral designs.

'Αρχέλαος Τατεὶ *τῇ γυναι*|*κὶ ἰδίᾳ φιλοστοργίας ἕνεκεν.*

79. Mahmud Assar: in the Mosque.

////ΠΑΦΛΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗ☉ .]*πα'*· Φλ. 'Αλκιβιάδη-
//////CTPATIΩTHC☉ *ς ἱ*]*στρατιώτης*
////ΙΠΕΥCΚΥΡΙΛΛΗ☉ *ἱπ*]*πεὺς Κυρίλλῃ*
////CΥΝΒΙΩΓΥΚΥ☉ *τῇ*] *συνβίῳ γ*(*λ*)*υκυ-*
////ΤΑΤΗΜΝΗΜΗΜΗC *τάτῃ μνήμη*<*μη*>*ς*
//// ☉XAPIN ☙ *χάριν.*

This inscription may be Christian. For the date [·]*πα'* expressed by letters alone without *ἔτους*, see *CB.* ii. p. 479, no. 350 and no. 645.

80. Mahmud Assar: below the inscription is a relief representing two women, the left holding a hammer (?).

Αὐρ. Σελευκία καὶ Α[ἴ]|λιος καὶ Δέκμος τῷ | *ἰδίῳ*
πατρὶ γλυκυ|*τά*(*τῳ*) *μ.χ.*

81. Eldesh: in cemetery.

'Αππᾶς Τατεὶ [τ]ῇ εἰδίᾳ | γυναικὶ μ. ἐ.

In this village there are other two defaced inscriptions.

82. *Ibid.*: in large letters.

////ΗCΤΟΝΑΝΑΤΟΛΗΚΟ//// κόμ]ης τὸν 'Ανατολικὸ[ν?

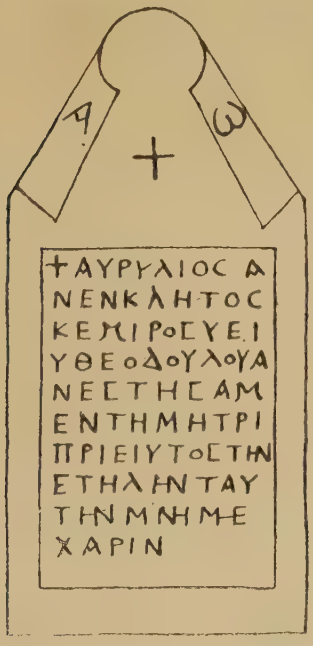
CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

83. Ilghin: beside the Depôt.

'Ελία Βασί|λισσα θυ|γατὴρ Εἰλά|ρου πρεσβυ(τέρου)|
[τ]οῦ 'Ασέως |[σ]ὺν τῷ ὑ|ῷ μου Πα|[τ]ρικίου ἀ|νέστησα|ν
τῷ γλυκ[υ]|τάτῳ μου ἀ[ν|δρὶ Πα]τ|ρικ[ίου μ.χ.].

Basilissa at Hadrianopolis, Sterr. 168 (see *supra*); Hilara in Sterr. 163 (read Αἰλάρᾳ, cp. *αἰαυτῷ* for *ἑαυτῷ*); on 'Ασευς, No 59 (above).

84. *Ibid.*



Α+Ω

+ Αὐρύλιος 'Α-
νένκλητος
κὲ Μῖρος ὑει-
ὑ Θεοδούλου ἀ-
νεστήσαμ-
εν τῇ μητρὶ
Πριειυτος τὴν
(σ)τήλην ταύ-
την μνήμη(ς)
χάριν.

In ll. 8, 9 the stone has Ε twice for Ϲ. ΠΡΙΕΙΥΤΟϹ seems to be another Phrygian or native name.

85. Ilghin: in a mosque.

+ Αὐρίλιο(ς) | Κόνων ἀ|νέστησεν | μνήμην τοῦ | τέκνου αὐ|τοῦ Παύ|λου.

The name Κόνων was common among the Christians: cp. on No. 60, and Hogarth No. 18. Παῦλος also in a fragmentary inscr. at Tchaüshji keui, Παυλεῖνος at Hadrianopolis (Sterr. 160): while Ἰωάννης occurs in No. 90.

86. Ilghin: in large cemetery.

+ Αὐρήλιος | Μάξιμος | ἀν(έ)στησ|ε τοῦ εἰδίου τέκ|νου Ἑρμο|γένου | μ.|χ.

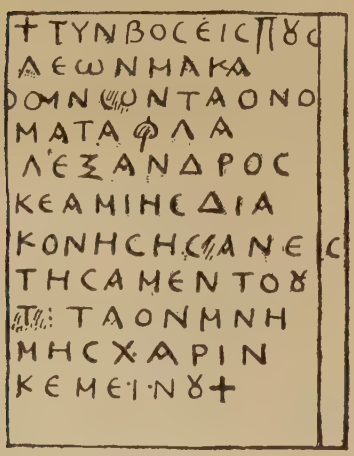
87. *Ibid.*, in large letters.

. . δῖξον, Κύριε, τῦς ἐχθρ[ῦς . .

88. Tchaüshji Keui.

Ματρώνης τόδε σῆμα ἐπισκόπου δὲ θυ-
γατρὸς Μνησιθέου, τὸν πάντες ἐτείμων,
ὣς γὰρ ἔοικεν· ἰστήλλην δ' ἔστησεν πόσις καὶ φ-
ίλτατα τέκνα αὐ(τ)οῦ Ἀρελλιανὸς τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυνεκὶ
καὶ αὐ(τοῦ) τέκνα Ἀμμία καὶ Ἑρμιανὸς τῇ ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ
ἀνέστησαν μνήμης ἕν-
εκεν.

89. Mahmud Assar.



+ Τύνβος εἰσπου-
δέων μακά-
ρω]ν ὧν τὰ ὀνό-
ματα Φλ. Ἀ-
λέξανδρος
κὲ Ἀμίης δια-
κονήσης. ἀνεσ-
τήσαμεν τὸ(ν)
τίτ[λ]ον μνή-
μης χάριν·
κὲ Μείνου +

Ll. 1–3 Prof. Ramsay acutely detected εἰσπουδέων (*i.e.* σπουδαίων) μακάρων.

L. 11 perhaps Μεί[ρ]ου.

90. Tekke keui, ¼ hr. E. of Mahmud Assar.

Αὐριλία Θέ|κλα ἀνέστ|ησα τοῦ ἐμο|ῦ τέκνου Ἰω|άν-
ου μνή|μης χάρ(ιν).

91. Eldesh.

Ἐνθάδε κατά|κιτε Ἡρά|κλις κὲ Πατρίκις | κὲ
Π[ο]λύκαρπος | πρεσβύτεροι | μ.χ.

92. Arkut Khan.

+ Εὐχὴ Λεον-
τίου καὶ Π-
λουτά-
ρχου τῶ(ν)
ἀδελ-
φῶν +

We have now reviewed the country along the great commercial highway of the Roman period from Apameia to the south-east corner of Phrygia. For five centuries or more, a constant stream of traffic passed along this road, and flourishing cities with numerous subject villages were to be found on it at short intervals. Here then, if anywhere in the interior, we should expect to find that the Graeco-Roman civilisation struck its roots wide and deep, absorbing and transforming the old native half-Oriental civilisation. Yet nothing is clearer than its failure to make any lasting impression. The Phrygian language lived on, and the native spirit retained its vitality and ultimately prevailed. In the plain of Metropolis the native population, the Euphorbeni,[1] maintained its existence side by side with the Greek city. Lysias was planted amongst the Oiniatai: now only a low mound marks its site, while the Oiniatai have left their name to the village Oinân and the plain around. The Roman city Julia flourished and died, and the old name Ipsos reasserted itself. In the plain of Philomelion the villages Azara, Pìsa, Selinda live on as Azari, Bīssa, Selind. In the remaining part of Paroreios we have found numerous indications of the persistence of the native element. Tyriaïon clearly retained its native character, with a mere veneer of Greek civilisation, till the establishment of Christianity. The Hellenization of the interior (apart from the great cities) as a whole was due to the spread of Christianity; but the Hellenism it brought was of a pithless, stagnant type, which was too

[1] Cp. *CB.* ii. p. 750–1.

easily absorbed and assimilated when the great wave of Orientalism overspread the land with the Turkish invasion.

J. G. C. Anderson.

March, 1898.

Note on Kaballa and Tchivrili-tchemani (p. 121).

Prof. Ramsay has sent me the following communication :—"It is very probable that you are right in placing Tzibrilitzemani, etc. nearer Iconium than I have done. I hesitated long between your view and the one I have taken ; and at last it seemed to me that here, as in other cases, the Byzantine accounts exaggerate Manuel's progress and speak as if he had gone further than he really did. The literal interpretation of the Greek words is with you ; but I am not sure that we can take them literally. Similarly, historians speak of Loulon as near Tarsus, though it is nearly seventy miles distant." It is, of course, true that no stress can be laid on a mere phrase like *οὐ πάνυ τι μηκόθεν τοῦ Ἰκονίου* (Zon. xvi. 14), which may (in a Byzantine historian) be perfectly vague, or on a mere solitary statement that a certain event took place ; but if we discredit a detailed account such as Cinnamus gives, do we not thereby raise a very large question ?

Note on the Maps.

The map of Phrygia Paroreios (Pl. IV.) is based on Dr. Richard Kiepert's map attached to Dr. Sarre's book "Reise in Kleinasien," but I have introduced several alterations and additions based on my own observations and compass readings. The small inset map follows Prof. H. Kiepert's map in Dr. Buresch's *Aus Lydien, etc.*, with a few alterations and some additions. Plate V. is based on Prof. Kiepert's large-scale map of *Westliches Klein Asien*, but numerous alterations are made from my readings and observations (while in one or two points Prof. Radet's maps in *En Phrygie* have been laid under contribution).

THE GAME OF MORRA.

THE Imperial Ottoman Museum has recently acquired a very valuable and interesting gold ring (Fig. 1) which was found in 1894 or 1895 in a tomb at Lampsacus. The Museum authorities subsequently undertook further excavations in the necropolis of which this tomb formed part, and it is a matter for great regret that no detailed report of the results was drawn up; we are therefore forced to content ourselves with the somewhat meagre information given by the late Baltazzi-Bey to M. Salomon Reinach,[1] according to which the necropolis yielded fragments of red-figured pottery and specimens of silver autonomous coins of Lampsacus. Both these details are of importance in fixing the date of the ring; for on the one hand silver coins of this class

FIG. 1.—GOLD RING IN IMPERIAL OTTOMAN MUSEUM. (Twice actual size.)

belong almost exclusively to the fourth century, and on the other, the manufacture of painted vases was not continued after that date. When we add that the evidence of coins[2] and inscriptions proves that this was the most flourishing period in the history of Lampsacus, we have strong *a priori* reason for assigning the ring to this century, while a consideration of the style of the intaglio may help us to fix the date within narrower limits.

The ring has been already published by M. Salomon Reinach,[3] who thus

[1] *Revue Archéologique*, 1895, ii. p. 363 = *Chroniques d'Orient*, ii. p. 471.

[2] For coins see B.M. *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Mysia*, Pl. xix. For inscriptions, *B.C.H.* xx. p. 553 (Proxenia of Epidaurus).

[3] Bad zincotype in the *Revue Arch.* (*loc. cit.*). Enlarged design in the *Chroniques d'Orient*, which gives a very inadequate idea of the delicate execution of the design. The drawing in the text is by Mr. F. Anderson, from an im-

describes the subject—'Seated draped Venus, holding in her hand a long wand with which she is threatening a Cupid who stands facing her.' As a matter of fact Cupid is holding the wand quite as much as Venus, and Venus is not threatening her son; she has extended two fingers of the right hand, the first and the middle finger, as if she were counting, from which we may conclude that she is playing a game well known to every traveller in Italy, the game of morra—(il giuoco della morra). Venus lifts two fingers; Cupid replies by a recognised move and flings forward his clenched fist. Additional proof is furnished by the wand, which each party clasps with the left hand. The game of morra is played with the right hand and at such a rapid pace that it would be impossible to count the moves if the attention of the players were distracted by any movement of the left hand, which is therefore ruled

Fig. 2. (From R.F. Attic hydria in Dzialynski Collection.)

out of the game. Nowadays this is achieved by putting it behind the back, but in Greece, as vase paintings show, it was done by making the players hold a wand. There is however this difference between the vase paintings and the intaglio, that in the former each player holds one end of the wand, and in the latter they both hold it by the same end. In order to facilitate comparison between the two methods of holding it we furnish (Fig. 2) a drawing of the scene depicted on a red-figured Attic hydria in the Dzialynski collection—the earliest known representation of the subject.[1]

pression given to me by M. Mylonas. My thanks are due to H. E. Hamdy-Bey for kind permission to study the original. The dimensions of the bezel are 25 mm. × 21 mm.

[1] To Panofka is due the credit of having been the first to recognise that this scene depicts the game of morra. He detected it on a Graeco-Italian hydria in Munich, No. 805 (*Bilder ant.*

I only know one ancient monument which represents the game of morra played as it is played in the present day, with the left hand behind the back. This is a large bronze (Fig. 3) in the British Museum.[1] It is said to have been found at Foggia in 1869. In any case it is Italian, and not Greek work, and of comparatively recent date, being very similar in style to the large bronze Cupids found at Pompeii. It represents Eros standing holding up his left hand with an animated gesture, while the right is concealed behind his back. It may be presumed that this statue formed part of a group which represented Eros playing at morra with his mother, or more probably with his friend Ganymede. He plays *three*, raising the thumb, index and second

Fig. 3.—Bronze Figure from Foggia.

(British Museum.)

fingers. From this we see that the game of morra was played in Italy in antiquity as it is to-day. It was only in Greek countries that it was played with the wand.

Leben, Pl. x. 6), and on the Dzialynski hydria (*Arch. Zeit.* 1848, pp. 246, 7), published for the first time by Otto Jahn (*Annali*, 1866, *Tav. d'agg.* U). Both vases have been frequently figured, the latest publication being by Schreiber-Anderson, *Atlas of Class. Ant.*, Pl. lxxix. 7 and 10, with a bibliography of the subject. Heydemann found and published another representation on a cup from Ruvo (Naples Museum), No. 2574 (*Arch. Zeitung* 1891, Pl. 56, 1), but it is doubtful whether the game is depicted on a Berlin hydria, No. 1953 (Jahn, *Annali*, 1866, *Tav. d'agg.* V and p. 328).

[1] No. 826. Ht. 2 ft. 6½ in. Acquired from Piot. Unpublished.

The Lampsacus ring is a masterpiece of fourth-century goldsmith's work; nothing but actual study of the original can enable us to realise the absolute perfection of technique displayed in rendering the folds of Aphrodite's chiton; but some idea of it may be gathered from a comparison with the intaglio of another gold ring now in the British Museum,[1] which represents Aphrodite amusing Eros with a bird (Fig. 4). The type of Aphrodite is the same, costume and chair are identical, but the execution of the design wants the exquisite finish of the earlier work and proves that it must be assigned to a later date. This difference of date is confirmed by a comparison of the different types employed for Eros. In the one design he is a youth with great strong quivering wings meant for use, in the other a mere cupid decorated with a pair of useless winglets.

Fig. 4.—Gold Ring in British Museum. (Twice actual size.)

The composition of the design of our ring is no whit inferior to the rendering of it. If we study those vase paintings which represent this subject, we see that the adversaries are of equal size and are seated facing one another, each holding the wand by one hand; but our engraver has varied the design so as to make it fit better into the space at his disposal. Aphrodite sits and Eros stands before her; thus the artist obtains an *upright* design better suited to the narrow field of a seal than the *horizontal* one required for a vase painting. The design is so admirably suited for the decoration of a mirror case that it is there perhaps that we may most reasonably expect to find it some day.

Paul F. Perdrizet.

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[1] Unpublished. Acquired at the sale of Lord Vernon's antiquities, 1885 (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1886, p. 128).

NOTE ON SOME ATTIC STELAI.

I SHOULD like to call attention to an attitude in some of the Attic stelai which has attraced little, if any, notice, while its meaning, so far as I know, has met with no consideration.

The best example of the attitude is to be found in the beautiful Plate XXIV. of Mr. Percy Gardner's 'Sculptured Tombs of Hellas' (Conze, Pl. LXXVIII). Mr. Gardner describes the sitting figure as 'a lady stretching out both hands towards a matron who stands before her,' certainly an inadequate description of a peculiar attitude. Conze, in his great work '*Die Attischen Grabreliefs*,' says that the standing figure with the left hand takes hold of the right arm of the sitter on the under side (unterfasst). But this seems to me to miss the point. It is not the right *arm* but the right *wrist* of the sitter that is laid hold of. The forefingers of the standing figure are extended along the forearm and the thumb is raised at the wrist, so that the sitter's right hand lies softly in a sort of couch. From an artistic point of view the attitude is a remarkable one, being unlike that of any of the other best known stelai.

In the nine parts of Conze's work I have found but one other example of the same attitude (Part I., Pl. XLIII., fig. 150), and in it there is a slight modification, viz. that, while the left hand of the standing figure still lays hold of the right wrist of the sitter, the fingers of the latter twine softly round the standing figure's left wrist, from the under side, so that the two hands are linked together closely at the wrist, just below the bracelet which lies on the forearm.

In the almost unique example of a 'Dying Woman' treated in a realistic manner (Gardner, fig. 66), we have the same locking of the hands together at the wrist, but with this difference from the previous illustration (Conze, fig. 150), that the fainting lady extends her *right* hand, which is received by the standing figure's *right* hand at the wrist. The latter lady is described by Mr. Gardner as the 'Mother whose extended arms signify sympathy and grief,' the peculiar attitude being entirely overlooked.

In Conze, Part I., Plate XXVI. there is a beautiful relief of a sitting lady between whose knees a naked boy presses forward with loving eagerness. Conze says, 'She embraces him with both hands.' But this is a weak description of a beautiful attitude. Her *right* hand lies tenderly under his *left* wrist or forearm, her fingers being extended to his elbow, a change of position from that of our former illustrations. But from the relation of the

figures to each other any other arrangement would have been impossible. We have however the same soft, gentle touch as in the former cases.

Other two variations complete the list of illustrations which I have been able to find in Conze.

In Part VIII., Plate CXCVIII. an old man with his right hand clasps the right hand of a girl (in the usual manner of the δεξίωσις), but Conze fails to observe that the left hand of the old man is laid on the *right wrist* and forearm of the girl, his fingers appearing below, clearly a mark of the closest attachment.

The same attitude is found in Conze, Part I., Pl. XCVIII. 'Corallion' clasps the right hand of 'Agathon' with her right in the usual manner, while her left lies under his *right wrist* and forearm. This is noted by Conze. Here again this action shows an affectionate tenderness.

Last of all in the beautiful mural bas-relief of Naples (P. Gardner, Pl. XXIX., 'Orpheus, Eurydice, and Hermes') we have a fine example of the attitude in its most expressive form. Here it is Hermes, the Psychagogos, that lays his hand most tenderly on the right wrist of Eurydice, twining it round in what seems to us a forced action, as by this gentle touch he performs his sad duty of leading again to the Shades the newly-lost wife. The mournfulness of the scene is heightened by the position of Orpheus and Eurydice towards each other. Turning to him with her last fond gaze she places her left hand softly on his shoulder (another mark of loving regard), while Orpheus gently lays the fingers of his right hand on the left wrist of Eurydice. The pathos and beauty of this bas-relief and of the one in the Louvre have long attracted the admiration of all beholders, but my special point has been overlooked.

Now, have we any allusions in Greek literature to the significance of these rarely found illustrations, specially in connection with the *right* wrist? Doubtless scholars will discover others, but I find in Homer two very distinct references. In a most tender passage (Od. XVIII. 258), Penelope tells Eurymachus that, when Odysseus left for Troy, whence he might not return, as the Trojans were great warriors, he bade her an affectionate farewell and

δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ καρπῷ ἑλὼν ἐμὲ χεῖρα προσηύδα.

This seems exactly to describe the attitude and its pathetic significance.

Another passage (Il. XXIV. 671) also throws light on the subject. Achilles, yielding to the commands of the gods, and conquering his implacable hate, agrees to give up the dead body of Hector on the prayer of the aged Priam, and

Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσας ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρα γέροντος
ἔλλαβε δεξιτερὴν, μήπως δείσει' ἐνὶ θυμῷ.

In his note on this passage Mr. Leaf says that this attitude is a mark of kindness. But it surely indicates a deeper and stronger feeling, a desire to give courage and confidence (as Homer says) to the aged king amid the dangers to which he was exposed in the camp of his enemies. Coming from

the resentful Achilles it has a deep significance. The two passages taken together show that the attitude was used on occasions of intense emotion or of deep passion. Carl Sittl (*Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*) mentions the attitude in p. 314, note 2, and on p. 315, note 6, but does not attach any special meaning to it. With regard to the hand on the shoulder (two figures each with the hand on the shoulder of the other), he says that the position somehow, yet still clearly, indicates affection. In art, however, he connects it with a late period, but it must be borne in mind that we find it in the 'Orpheus and Eurydice' bas-relief, which is generally ascribed to the end of the fifth or at the latest to the beginning of the fourth century.

The aspect of the Greeks and Romans towards the wrist seems worthy of careful examination. While we speak of kissing the hand, Homer says λαβὼν κύσε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ (Od. XXIV. 398), doubtless the right wrist in connection with δεξίωσις. From the more delicate skin and the more sensitive touch of the wrist, one would feel inclined to say that the ancients showed a finer appreciation of the motive.

Then, further, while our young men and maidens dance hand in hand, Homer, in his picture on the shield of Achilles, represents them as dancing ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες.

JOHN FORBES WHITE.

BOREAS AND OREITHYIA ON A LATE ATTIC VASE.

[Plate VI.]

The vase which is the subject of the present paper was acquired a few years ago in Italy for the Ashmolean Museum. The find spot was given as Capua.

The vase is a bell-krater, in height 20⅝ in. (m ·523) in diameter 19⅝ in. (m ·498). There is a wreath above, and a line of maeander pattern beneath the figures. The sides of the vase have a decoration of unusual richness. An elaborate pattern of palmettes rises to the handles, the roots of which are surrounded by the so-called egg-moulding (*Eierstab*). The reverse type is one of the conventional groups usual in this class of vases. Three youths, their long hair bound with wreaths (white), and wrapped in himatia, are standing together in a building which is indicated by a column rising in the midst. In the back-ground are hung up two square frames (dedications?); two tall curved leaves like notes of interrogation rise from the ground. One of the youths, to r., holds a patera; another, to l., holds a strigil; the third is wrapped wholly in his cloak. In the field to l. is a flower.

The interest of the vase resides wholly in the painting of the obverse, which I take to be a new and probably unique representation of the carrying off of Oreithyia by Boreas. Boreas, who is represented as a dignified bearded man, clad in Phrygian cap, chiton with sleeves, chlamys and boots, is seizing by hair and right arm Oreithyia, who has flung herself violently on the ground, and raises her hands beseechingly to a richly draped matronly figure who is seated on a rock (hair in kerchief, under- and over-garment). An Eros, in a curious attitude, as if he were also perched on a rock rather than floating, rises beside the seated matron, holding some white object (wreath or fillet?) in both hands. Behind the matron stands a female figure, her hair bound with a sphendone, holding in her left hand the end of her veil. Behind Boreas, his horse advances to r. The drawing is very good for the period, which I take to be not very late in the fourth century. White colour is used for the face, arms and feet of the standing woman, the border of the cap of Boreas, and the mane of the horse, as well as for ornaments and accessories. Plate VI. is from a very faithful drawing, made by Mr. F. Anderson.

That the vase is Attic will probably not be disputed. The subject in itself points clearly to Athens. The elaborate devices under the handles, which are

KRATER IN ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM (REVERSE).

almost identical with those on an Attic vase of earlier style from Gela, recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, indicate the same origin. Vases of this class are in the Berlin Catalogue (Nos. 2641–8) and in the British Museum Catalogue (vol. iv) assigned to Athens.

Representations of the carrying off of Oreithyia by Boreas are by no means rare in Greek vase-painting. They are especially common on Attic vases of the fifth century. Sometimes the scheme is one of flight and pursuit: sometimes the girl is represented in the arms of her suitor. On the chest of Cypselus Boreas has the serpent legs of Typhon; on a red-figured vase[1] he is double-headed like Janus; Oreithyia like Thetis is often seized in the presence of her companions, who hasten away to tell the tale. The most important vase of this class is at Munich.[2] It is a fine red-figured vase. Boreas winged (ΒΟΡΑΣ) has seized Oreithyia (ὀΡΕΙΘΥΙα), who stretches out her hands towards Herse (ἑΡΣΕ) who follows the pair with arms outstretched as if to aid: Pandrosos, Aglauros, and a third young woman not named, fly in terror to Cecrops and Erechtheus to tell them what has happened. A very similar vase at Berlin is published by Gerhard,[3] where the same figures

[1] *Ann. d. Inst.* 32 (1860), Pl. L.M.

[2] O. Jahn's Catalogue, No. 376. cf. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, iii. p. 144.

[3] *Etrusk. u. Kampan. Vasenb.* Pl. 26–29. cf. Berlin *Catalogue of Vases*, No. 2165.

reappear, though only the names of Boreas and Oreithyia are given; and where again Herse seems disposed to attempt a rescue. On one red-figured vase Athena is present, and is by no means out of place, since according to one version of the myth Oreithyia was carried off while engaged as a canephoros in her service. But according to more generally received accounts she was surprised while picking flowers by the Ilissus, or filling a vessel at Callirhoe, or carried off from the rocks of the Areiopagus.

A distinctive representation dating from the fourth century is found in the well-known akroterion of Delos. Here, Boreas, winged, clad only in drapery which falls behind the shoulders, and in boots, raises aloft Oreithyia, whom he has seized in the presence of two of her sisters or friends.[1] At the feet of captor and captive, a small horse springs to the right. This horse, or mare, is taken by Miss Harrison to represent a transformation of Oreithyia, whom she thinks to have been, in origin, a sea-nymph, and so to have possessed, like Thetis and the Old Man of the Sea, the power of assuming various shapes.

In Roscher's Lexikon, under *Boreas*, p. 811, citation is made of a vase whereon a young man, wearing a Phrygian cap, bears away, in a quadriga, a struggling girl. This vase was published originally by Welcker,[2] who took it for an abnormal representation of the carrying off of Oreithyia, and the writer in the Lexikon (Rapp) accepts the attribution. But it cannot be upheld; Stephani observes[3] that all save the horses is modern painting, and the figures in the chariot have neither a genuine appearance, nor any likeness to Boreas and his bride. Probably, the real subject of the vase, which is of the Panathenaic class, is a victorious racing chariot.

Passing from other representations of the wooing of Boreas to our vase, we are struck by the many points in which it varies from the accepted version. To begin with, Boreas is not winged. The pattern on his cap and the scales on his sleeves serve to mark his northern origin, and his affinity to Scythians and Amazons. He wears tall hunting boots closely like those in the Delian group. The horse which accompanies him seems clearly meant to bear away the captive, and does not lend itself readily to the view of Miss Harrison above quoted, that it belongs rather to Oreithyia than to her suitor.

Of the three figures on the left of the picture one is undoubtedly Eros, and one must almost certainly be taken for Aphrodite. But it is possible to hesitate whether Aphrodite is the seated or the standing figure. We have, indeed, here, an interesting problem. Three views deserve consideration:—

(1) That the standing figure is Aphrodite, the seated figure a relative of Oreithyia.

(2) That the standing figure is Aphrodite, the seated figure an impersonation of locality.

(3) That the standing figure is Peitho, the seated figure Aphrodite.

[1] See Furtwängler's restoration in *Arch. Zeitung*, 40, 339, Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 813, Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. lxxvii. The presence of the horse is a certainty.

[2] *Alte Denkmäler*, v. pl. 21.

[3] *Boreas*, p. 11.

We must consider these possible interpretations in turn; and first, the view that the seated lady is related to Oreithyia.

The name of the wife of Erechtheus, Praxithea, is recorded, but according to all accounts, she was not present at the scene of abduction. We may, perhaps, suppose that the idea of separation from home has introduced the mother into the scene as the representative of home.

Greek vase paintings of all ages have, as every one knows, a strong tendency to fall under definite schemes, and the presence of a mother at a scene of abduction certainly adds a touch of pathos. Instances of the addition in vase-paintings of persons whose presence is rather ideal than actual are very common. We may cite, on black-figured vases, the father and mother of the Cercopes witnessing the capture of their sons,[1] and Peleus and Neoptolemus present at the arming of Achilles[2]; on red-figured vases, Timandra present at the abduction of Helen, on the vase of Hieron; Apollo present at the duel of Achilles and Hector,[3] and Cheiron present at the surprise of Thetis. Such instances might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary. Perhaps it is more to the point to observe that Demeter is sometimes, on vases, present at the seizing of Persephone,[4] although, according to the received legend, she was absent at the time, and unaware, for a while, what had happened. It is true that the majority of archaeologists, from Millingen to Overbeck, have seen, in the vase paintings mentioned, not the first violent abduction of Cora, but her more peaceful annual departure to the world of shades; but this interpretation is doubtful, and even if it be adopted, Demeter should scarcely be present. An objection to the identification of our seated lady as Praxithea is that she is perfectly quiet and self-contained, evidently in no wise disturbed by the terror and the appeal of the girl.

Of one of the sisters or companions of Oreithyia we can scarcely think. Herse, daughter of Cecrops, is, as we have seen, present at the deed on some early vases, and even tries to interfere. But our seated lady can scarcely be Herse, nor can she be Athena, since none of the characteristic features of Athena appear.

A second interpretation is to find in the seated lady some personification of locality, perhaps Callirhoe, present, as Eleusis is sometimes present at the sending out of Triptolemus. The rock-seat would, certainly, very well suit this interpretation. On late vases, and especially in Pompeian paintings, such personifications are frequent in mythological scenes. And they take an interest in what is going forward, expressing sympathy by attitude and gesture. But they do not usually take an actual part in the action. It is difficult to think that Oreithyia could appeal for protection to Callirhoe, or any impersonation of locality.

The third interpretation remains, that the seated lady may be Aphrodite, and the standing figure behind her Peitho. In favour of this view is the

[1] *Ashmolean Vases*, Pl. 8.
[2] Heydemann, *Griech. Vasenbilder*, vi. 4.
[3] Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* 202.
[4] Overbeck, *Kunstmythol.* pl. xvii., 26, 26a, cf. text, p. 597.

position of Eros, close to the seated figure. But an argument against it may be drawn from the attitude of Oreithyia, who is evidently appealing with vehemence to the seated figure. Aphrodite, if present, would be invisibly present; and an appeal to her would scarcely be in place.

Since there lie such serious objections to all interpretations which most readily occur, I am greatly disposed to adopt one which is more far-fetched, and has, as far as I know, no support from ancient writers, but yet has something in its favour. Can the seated figure be Gaia? Gaia was, in a sense, the mother of Erichthonius, who is scarcely to be distinguished from Erechtheus, and appears in vases at his birth. She is closely connected with the early dynasty of Attica. The figure on our vase, in its dignity, would stand well for Gaia. Her rock-seat is appropriate. And Gaia, knowing the future well, might probably regard with complaisance a deed of violence of which the results were so auspicious to the Athenians, who more than once during the Persian wars had cause to rejoice that Boreas was their son-in-law. On the other hand, it would be very natural for Oreithyia to make appeal to her ancestress, Gaia, if she were present.

I am quite alive to the dangers of giving far-fetched or fanciful interpretations of vase scenes, which in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred fall into classes and schemes. But, occasionally, a vase of unusual character makes its appearance, in interpreting which one is at liberty to assume more originality and more definite purpose in the painter. Our vase seems to me to belong to this small class. In any case, whatever the true interpretation of the picture before us may be, it is certainly a rare and important representation of an interesting Attic myth.

PERCY GARDNER.

A HEAD IN THE POSSESSION OF PHILIP NELSON, ESQ., M.B.

[Plate XI.]

The head reproduced upon Pl. XI. has recently been acquired by Philip Nelson, Esq., M.B., and we are indebted to him both for his courteous permission to publish the head and for the photographs, taken by himself, from which our illustration is derived. The head is of Parian marble, and is clearly of Greek workmanship; it is also evidently derived from an original of the very highest artistic merit. It is in excellent preservation, except that the end of the nose and a part of the lips on the right side have been restored.

Dr. Nelson has kindly supplied me with the following information as to the history of the head and as to its dimensions and present condition. It was acquired by him in Bath at the sale of the collection of the late Captain Maignac, who inherited it from his father-in-law, an artist named Walton, a contemporary of the painter Barker of Bath, 1769–1847. This Walton in all probability brought the head from Italy, where he is known to have travelled and collected pictures, &c.; but there seems to be no more exact record as to its origin. The head seems to have remained practically unknown to archaeologists until its acquisition by Dr. Nelson, who, appreciating its importance, sent photographs to the British Museum in July, 1897. In addition to the photographs now reproduced, he offers to have a mould made and casts prepared, if there is sufficient demand.[1]

The left side shows the bend of the neck and the beginning of the shoulder; on the right side this is broken away; the cleavage marks on the under surface show head and body to have been in one piece. Dr. Nelson also sends me the following dimensions:—

Length of nose	63 mm.	Between inner angles of eyes without lachr. canal	28 mm.
,, ,, eye with lachr. canal	31 ,,	Aperture of eye	11 ,,
,, ,, ,, without ,,	27 ,,	Ala to ala of nose	39 ,,
,, ,, mouth	43 ,,	Ala of nose to angle of mouth	22 ,,
Height of forehead	47 ,,	Nose to tip of chin	63 ,,
Length of ear	63 ,,	Length of face	162 ,,
Width of ear	31 ,,	Width of face at zygoma	107 ,,
Tip to ala of nose	35 ,,	Inner corner of eye to chin	107 ,,
,, ,, edge of lower lip	37 ,,	,, ,, ,, ,, hair	60 ,,
Upper to lower edge of lips	20 ,,		

[1] Dr. Nelson's address is 14, Princes Road, Liverpool. I feel no doubt that his offer will be widely accepted.

Dr. Nelson also observes the resemblance of this head to the works attributed by Professor Furtwängler to Cresilas, and suggests that we should recognise in it the Doryphorus recorded by Pliny among the works of that master; this is an identification we must now consider.

The head, which appears to represent a youthful athlete, is not an exact replica of any known type,[1] but it has an obvious affinity with the series that has been grouped together and discussed by Professor Furtwängler in his *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* under the name of Cresilas. And, if we were to accept this grouping and identification without discussion, all that would now be needful would be to describe the new head, and to record that another example—perhaps the most beautiful and characteristic of all—has now been added to the series.[2] But the subject is so complicated and difficult that even those who have followed and accepted Professor Furtwängler's brilliant arguments will not be sorry to reconsider the evidence on which they are based; while there are probably others who are still unconvinced, and will be glad to investigate an alternative theory.

The head which shows the closest resemblance to that reproduced on Pl. XI. is the well-known Amazon of the Capitoline type.[3] Now the relation of this Amazon to the other well-known statues of Amazons has always been a puzzle. Our views upon this matter depend to a great extent upon the amount of weight we assign to the tradition recorded by Pliny, that four[4] of the most celebrated artists of antiquity made statues of Amazons in competition for Ephesus, and that when the relative merit was decided by the votes of the competitors themselves, Polyclitus was placed first, Phidias second, Cresilas third, and Phradmon fourth. In the various attempts that have been made to fit this story to the various statues of Amazons that are extant, there is practically only one point on which all authorities are agreed; this is that one of the types, which represents the Amazon as leaning her left elbow on a pillar, and resting her right hand on her head (Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Pl. VIII.), is to be attributed to Polyclitus. One may feel inclined to discredit the rest of the story as a mere fabrication to glorify the Argive school; but we know from Lucian, the most trustworthy and intelligent art-critic of antiquity, that there was an Amazon by Phidias, and a wounded Amazon by Cresilas is mentioned elsewhere by Pliny. Professor Furtwängler says that Pliny's statement 'should rather be considered as confirmed by the fact that copies of precisely four statues of standing Amazons still exist, which on the one hand are clearly to be

[1] This is a matter on which I speak with the more confidence, as I understand from Dr. Nelson that Prof. Furtwängler has expressed the same opinion.

[2] This new head shows a peculiarity in the clearly marked line bordering the eyelids, which occurs elsewhere, *e.g.* on the head of the Mattei Amazon. It is there claimed by Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 134, n. 2, as a point of style, not of 'bronze technique,' as is commonly supposed. But surely, if so, the style is that of the copyist, not of the original. It can hardly be disputed that the line originates in the bronze casing of the inserted eye-sockets.

[3] Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, Fig. 54 (Eng'. edition).

[4] Pliny's confusion in making Cresilas' nationality, Cydon, into a fifth, does not affect the value of the evidence; it simply shows he was copying unintelligently.

referred to four different artists, and, on the other, are evidently closely connected by identical measurements, by a general similarity of conception and dress, and by their belonging to the same period of art.' Even if we grant — what is by no means beyond dispute — Professor Furtwängler's distinction of the four types and his assignment of all of them to the same period, we are faced here by a coincidence which is at least improbable. Any one who is acquainted with the history of the monuments of Greek sculpture, with the strange freaks of fortune that have led to one being lost and another preserved, and with the utter disproportion of what is now in our museums to what once enriched the shrines of Greece, will appreciate how unlikely it is that such a set of works should be preserved to us in its entirety. And, moreover, the assumption that all these Ephesian Amazons were represented as standing, not on horseback, and that they were identical in size, rests on no better evidence than the assumption that they were all wounded. The story of the competition itself is probably not taken seriously by any one; but if we give it up, what is left to be deduced from Pliny's story except that there were four statues of Amazons at Ephesus? There is no proof that they were either contemporary, similar in pose, or identical in size. It follows that there can be no compulsion for us to assign these four given types of Amazons to just the four masters mentioned by Pliny. Of course it is perfectly open to an archaeologist to prove, upon purely stylistic grounds, that any one of these types does belong to any one of the four masters; and in the case of the Polyclitan type, there is a general agreement, based upon adequate evidence for comparison. But, in the case of the others the evidence is slighter, and under the circumstances there is no necessity to assume that any particular one of the types goes back to one of the four sculptors mentioned by Pliny, though of course there is a probability that the work of some other beside Polyclitus may be preserved.

It is desirable to keep before us these conditions as to identification, because, if we admit that the Capitoline type and the Mattei type must be by Cresilas and by Phidias respectively, the room for argument and conjecture is very closely circumscribed, though probably some authorities would be inclined to reverse the attribution, and to go back to the old view that the Capitoline type must be assigned to Phidias. But if we do not admit that these two masters necessarily made these two statues, the field for comparison is widened. Now the attribution of one of these statues to Phidias, though it has been maintained in either case, has never been proved to conviction. To Cresilas Prof. Furtwängler has made a most brilliant attempt to affiliate the Capitoline type.

The monumental evidence from which his argument starts is the statue of Pericles made by Cresilas, of which we most probably possess some copies. These copies differ a good deal among themselves; and while there is enough in common to all of them to give us some notion of the style of Cresilas, there is also a good deal of variation, especially in technical details, which may be due to the copyist rather than to the original artist. Now if we look at the general conception and style of the head, apart from such technical

details, and compare it with that of the Capitoline Amazon, or the similar head on the Mattei Amazon,[1] I venture, for my part, to think that there is a difference far more essential than any points of resemblance that can be traced. The treatment of the hair is decidedly different, so far as one can compare a male head with a female; and, even if this difference be due to the copyists, its evidence must tell against rather than for the identification; and there is a considerable difference also in the shape of the eyes. That the eyes differ considerably in the various copies of the Pericles is an indication in itself; for the extraordinarily definite and clear-cut eyelids that we see in the Amazon and in Dr. Nelson's head could hardly have given rise to such variations. A comparison with the Pericles does not then compel us to attribute the wounded Amazon to Cresilas. Prof. Furtwängler argues indeed with great persuasiveness from Pliny's description of Cresilas' Amazon as wounded that the Capitoline type must be his. But the Polyclitan type is wounded too, though there is no record of it in literature, and though the motive of the wound is not worked out with equal skill. The fact is that we have do deal with a succession of probabilities, rather than with any definite proof, and so the question may at least be regarded as open enough to invite further discussion.

In the case of the Amazons we meet with a phenomenon which is repeated with remarkable exactness in another case, and whatever explanation we accept in the one instance we shall probably be justified in applying to the other instance also. And curiously enough we have to deal in both cases with a group of works of which the most characteristic is universally recognised as belonging to Polyclitus. The other group comprises the statues which show us, in several variations, representations of a Diadumenus.[2] In the case of the Diadumenus we have not, it is true, any tale of a competition by several well known sculptors, as in the case of the Amazons; but we have a Diadumenus by Phidias mentioned, and so we have, in the two cases, the same two sculptors recorded as responsible for the most famous examples. And we find, as we should naturally have expected, that in the case of the Diadumenus as of the Amazon, modern authorities have recognised one type as decidedly Polyclitan, while another has been identified, though with less consensus of opinion, as derived from Phidias.[3] There is however, another complication introduced in the case of several copies of even the Polyclitan Diadumenus; for they show a strange contrast with the copies of the Polyclitan Doryphorus. Prof. Furtwängler, fully recognising this contrast, attributes the difference to a change of style on the part of the sculptor, the Doryphorus being an earlier work of purely Argive character, while the Diadumenus represents the work of his later years, under Attic influence which may well have been conveyed

[1] The Mattei Amazon, it will be remembered, has lost its head, which has been replaced by one properly belonging to the Capitoline type.

[2] This coincidence is peculiarly interesting, when we remember Dr. Nelson's suggestion that his head represents the Doryphorus of Cresilas, while the two most characteristic athletic statues of Polyclitus were the Diadumenus and a Doryphorus.

[3] Furtwängler regards the Farnese Diadumenus as Phidian, following Gerhard and Böttticher.

through the channel of Cresilas. The only alternative is to recognise in the much mutilated head of the Vaison Diadumenus the most authentic copy of the work of Polyclitus himself, and to see in the more perfect and much softer work of such heads as those at Dresden and Cassel a modification introduced by an Attic copyist. Such a modification, of a quite Praxitelean character, must be recognised in the terra-cotta statuette from Smyrna published in the *Hellenic Journal* for 1885, Pl. LXI., unless indeed we regard this Praxitelean modification as the work of a modern rather than an ancient copyist. But, whichever explanation we adopt as to the Dresden and Cassel heads—to which must be added another recently acquired by the British Museum, and the new Diadumenus from Delos—we must see in them a modification of Argive severity under the influence of the softer Attic style, whether that influence was exerted upon Polyclitus himself in his later years or only upon the copyists who reproduced his work.

Now if we turn to the Amazons again and remember that the explanation which applies in the one case must in all probability apply to the precisely similar phenomenon in the other case also, we may with great probability infer that here also we see the modification, under Attic influence, of the severer Argive type which is most characteristic of Polyclitus, at least in his younger years. If this explanation of the relation of the softer and the severer type be accepted for both cases alike, it will follow that we cannot while attributing the severer type in both cases to Polyclitus assign the softer type to Cresilas or to his influence. For Cresilas was the contemporary of Pericles and of Phidias, and belonged to an older generation than Polyclitus. It is not indeed impossible that the artistic activity of the two may have overlapped to some extent. But it seems more natural to suppose that what is generally recognised as the characteristic Polyclitan type is the original, and that the other softer—one is almost inclined to say sentimental—type is a later modification; and any such relation implies that we must not attribute the second type to Cresilas, but rather to some pupil or follower of Polyclitus who had fallen more or less under Attic influence. If, merely for the sake of clearness, and without any notion of introducing useless conjecture, we wish to bring any names into the matter, such a work as this is what we should expect from a sculptor like Naucydes or the younger Polyclitus; or, if we take the Amazon into consideration, we might well attribute the new head which so closely resembles it to Phradmon, who appears to have been another artist of the same school, and then identify the Capitoline Amazon as derived also from Phradmon, the fourth of the sculptors quoted by Pliny for the Ephesian Amazons. This, however, is a conjecture which might be upset by the discovery of new evidence as to Phradmon's style; and, in any case, we know so little about Phradmon that we cannot speak of him with any confidence. But it certainly seems to me that, if we are to assign both the Amazon and Dr. Nelson's new and beautiful head of an athlete to any particular sculptor, Phradmon's name suggests the right associations.

There is a whole series of later Polyclitan works, among them such well-known examples as the Idolino at Florence and the Westmacott athlete in

the British Museum ; and it is among these, though far above most of them in artistic merit, that the head we are now considering finds its natural place. This head is certainly the work of a sculptor who was a pupil of Polyclitus, but who introduced an Attic grace and power of expression into his master's severer style. Viewed in this light, the new head is not only a great acquisition in itself, but it also supplies us with the earliest and finest example of a series already recognised and widely represented in the museums of Europe.

The object of the present publication is to make accessible to archaeologists, in an adequate reproduction, a head of very great beauty and interest. Before its exact place in the history of sculpture can be established, there is need of a far more lengthy and elaborate discussion than the mere suggestions that are given above. They will serve, however, to indicate the direction in which its affinities are to be sought, and to open a discussion in which others besides myself will doubtless take part.

ERNEST GARDNER.

PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA.

[Plates VII.—X.]

In my first article on Pylos and Sphacteria[1] I made the rash promise that in an early number of this *Journal* I would support my theories by documentary evidence. It is with shame that I realise that this is now two years ago. Various circumstances have delayed me. I have been unable to visit Greece again myself, and the friends who were kind enough to do the work for me were constantly baulked by the storminess of the place. Not only was it often impossible to set up a camera ὁπότε πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου εἴη, but even to reach Sphacteria at all. Of the Pylian boatmen, as I know from my own experience, it cannot be said that ἀφειδὴς ὁ κατάπλους καθέστηκε. It is only as a patchwork of the results of three different expeditions that I am now in a position to publish a plan of the παλαιὸν ἔρυμα and a fairly complete collection of photographs. In the present article my business will be to act as showman to this series; I have little new to add, and, happily, no fresh opponent to meet. My collaborators have, I think, on practically every point on which they have expressed an opinion, given their support to my views.[2] The British School at Athens has been good enough to send down a representative on two separate occasions. Plate VII. Fig. 3, Plate VIII. Fig. 4 and Plate IX. Fig. 6 are from photographs taken by Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, who is publishing some of his own observations at the end of this article. The plan of the παλαιὸν ἔρυμα—Fig. 10—was made by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, and I shall be able in dealing with it to quote in extenso from his notes. The bulk of the photographs, Plate VII. Figs. 1 and 2, Plate VIII. Fig. 5, Plate IX. Fig. 7, Plate X. Figs. 8 and 9 and Fig. 11, were taken jointly by an old Glasgow pupil of mine, Mr. A. Lindsay, now Scholar of University College, Oxford, and his father, Prof. Lindsay, of the Free Church College, Glasgow. I cannot be grateful enough for the zeal with which all these scholars have thrown themselves into the details of this intricate question, and the kindness with which they have placed their results at my disposal.

The illustrations naturally bring out many of the points which formed the subject of my controversy with Mr. G. B. Grundy.[3] To Mr. Grundy's last

[1] *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. pt. I. p. 55.

[2] Mr. Lindsay's one exception is noticed p. 151. Mr. Bosanquet thinks Thucydides never visited the spot. For the extent to which I attach importance to this point, see *C.R.*, Feb. 1897, p. 9.

[3] The bibliography of the subject is as follows:—

(*a*) *Athenaeum*, April 11, 1896. Paper read before the Hellenic Society by G. B. Grundy. Criticism by R. M. Burrows.

(*b*) *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. pt. I., April 1896. Articles by G. B. Grundy and R. M. Burrows.

(*c*) *Classical Review*, Nov. 1896. Criticism by G. B. Grundy.

(*d*) *Classical Review*, Feb. 1897. Answered by R. M. Burrows.

(*e*) *Classical Review*, April 1897. Further criticism by G. B. Grundy.

(*f*) *Classical Review*, Dec. 1897. Further criticism by G. B. Grundy.

A lucid, and to me very gratifying, summary of my position is contained in vol. v. of Mr. Frazer's *Pausanias*, pp. 608–613. (Addendum to vol. iii.)

words in this controversy I do not mean to reply in detail. The argument would largely resolve itself into the question not whether he is right or I, but whether in our mutual criticisms we have misrepresented each other. This is an unfruitful subject, and it is better to leave readers who are sufficiently interested to judge for themselves. They have all the data before them.[1] I can only say that if I have misrepresented Mr. Grundy in any point I am extremely sorry for it.

Let us turn to the illustrations, and begin with Plate VIII. Fig. 4, the general view of Pylos. It is taken from Sphacteria, which is just seen in the immediate foreground. The prominent position in the foreground is occupied by the Sikia Channel. Behind it is Pylos and the Sand Bar. The western of the two existing outlets is seen on the extreme right; one which is now blocked up, further to the left. On the extreme left are the rocks where Brasidas tried to land. On the summit of Pylos are the remains of the Venetian Castle, with the Bay of Boidia Koilia and the circular spit of sand enclosing it to the right. On the further side of Boidia Koilia can be seen rather dimly Hagio Nikolo and the mainland to the north. On the horizon to the left is the Island of Prote.[2] Plate VIII. Fig. 5, gives in detail the land side of the rough ground on the left of Fig. 4. If instead of this photograph I had chosen for publication another of Mr. Lindsay's, taken nearer the water's edge, I could have shown still more indubitably the impossibility of beaching ships at this point.[3] I wished however to call attention to the curious groove formation of the rock, noticed by Mr. Lindsay, which can be seen slanting from the centre of the photograph to the right foreground. It looks as if the rock was at some time or another roughly cut so as to form a groove for a wall.[4] I should not imagine however that this was done at the time of Demosthenes' occupation. It may be remembered that I noticed traces of Messenian and possibly Athenian work a little further inland,[5] and Mr. Lindsay's remarks point to a Venetian date for the groove. He says 'The width of the groove varies from two to five feet. It runs just within the rough rocks, usually about two yards outside the smooth ground. It begins at the south-west corner and runs for about 170 yards, at one place at a distance of about 70 yards from the sea. At its northern extremity it is joined by the remains of a wall running inland. This wall is not at all like any of the others of early date, and, so far as one can judge from its scanty remains, is Venetian work.'

Mr. Lindsay also reminds me of an interesting point about the rough ground where Brasidas tried to land. The jagged rocks near the water's edge lie detached, one behind the other, and between them there is standing ground. When Demosthenes and his men came outside their proper line of defence they could stand *παρ' αὐτῇ τῇ ῥαχίᾳ*,[6] with their feet in the water,

[1] They may compare for instance *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. p. 47 line 6 with *ibid.* p. 42 line 29, *C.R.* Feb. 1897 p. 9 note 3 and *C.R.* April 1897 p. 158 bottom of first column and top of second.

[2] Thuc. iv. 13, 3.

[3] Cp. *J.H.S.* xvi. pt. I. pp. 17 and 25, *C.R.* Feb. 1897 p. 4 and *C.R.* April 1897 p. 157

[4] It is possible that this groove was seen by Bory de St. Vincent (*Rélation*, p. 147).

[5] *J.H.S.* xvi. pt. I. p. 64.

[6] Thuc. iv. 9, 2 and 3. 10, 4.

and yet have ready-made walls to give them cover. It is little wonder that they won the shield of Brasidas.[1]

The only other points to notice in Fig. 5 are the fine view of the Venetian Castle in the background to the right, and the glimpse of Prote to its left.

Brasidas' rocks naturally suggest the exact position of Demosthenes' southern line of defence. Fig. 4 shows clearly enough that it would never have done for Demosthenes to leave outside his line of defences so much good level ground as Mr. Grundy's wall BB would make him do.[2] My point however has been not merely that the southern wall—marked G.G. in my original plan[3]—must have been built as close to the edge as possible, and turned inland only where Brasidas' rocks compelled it, but that a short cross-wall—marked I in the plan—must have been built from north to south at the south-east corner. Here it was that, according to my theory, Demosthenes beached his ships, and here where the Spartans meant to make their attack with siege engines when they had failed on the south-west. I pointed out that I myself had walked without difficulty into Pylos this way, and that the Spartans would have done the same if there had been no wall to stop them. I suggested too that to the east of this wall, of the direct north to south line, there must have been then, as now, a slope where men could beach ships and use siege engines.[4] The documentary evidence is interesting. If we had only Fig. 4 to judge from, a view taken from the south, it would be difficult to believe that the rise in the ground at the south-east corner was so gradual. Mr. Grundy's heart, hardened against me by his survey, might become harder still. 'I do not know, of course,' he says,[5] 'what Mr. Burrows means by "never approaching the perpendicular." I see that at this south end of the east cliff, the summit of the cliff rises to a vertical height of 60 feet above its eastern foot, which is only at a horizontal distance of 81 feet from that summit. This slope moreover is not continuous, but in part much steeper than that implied by these general measurements; in fact, if I recollect aright, the lower part is perpendicular cliff, with a slope from the top of the cliff to the 60 feet level. Anyone who realises what this really means in nature will understand that Mr. Burrows' remark is highly misleading. Mr. Burrows then proceeds to talk of survey defeating it own object if it supersedes observation . . . . . How can survey supersede observation when it is itself nothing else save the record of observation aided by instruments of accuracy?'

I must ask Mr. Grundy to look at Plate VII. Fig. 1. It is this same slope taken in profile from the east, from the sand-bar itself. The ground running down from left to right in the background is of course part of the north slope of Sphacteria, the Sikia Channel lying unseen between.

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[1] Thuc. iv. 12, 1.

[2] See *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. pt. I. pl. II. and *C.R.* Feb. 1897 p. 3.

[3] *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. pt. I. p. 57. I shall often for clearness sake refer to the lettering of this plan.

[4] *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. p. 64 and *C.R.* Feb. 1897, pp. 2, 3. See too Mr. Bosanquet's notes, *infra*.

[5] *C.R.* April 1897 p. 156.

Demosthenes' would, I imagine, follow the same line as the Venetian wall, a tower of which we see to the right. Comment is needless.

As for the slope to the east of the wall, it is clear that it is older than the alluvial deposit of the immediate foreground, and probable that it is of different formation. There would be ample room on the slope itself for the operations involved in my theory, even if the sand-bar had not yet begun to form to the east of it.[1]

While we are near the Sikia Channel it may be worth while considering from a new point of view the question of the blocking of the channels.[2] I have not laid sufficient stress on the wild improbability of the blocking ever having actually taken place under any circumstances and in any position. When the Athenians arrived and found no anchorage, they sailed north-west to Prote. Even if the Spartans could have thought it possible that they should abandon Demosthenes without an effort, without even an attempt to land stores and reinforcements, the direction in which they sailed and the nearness of their anchorage[3] would have made them hesitate in forming any such idea. Are we to believe that when the Athenians sailed away the channels were blocked, but that when they came back the next morning the passage was clear? We may allow a good deal for the stupidity of the Spartans, but are we to believe that they went through the difficult and elaborate operation of mooring light ships across channels exposed to wind and current,[4] and that then, just as they had proved

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[1] I have argued—*C.R.* Feb. 1897, p. 4—that the sand must have drifted to the S.E. corner before what we may call the West Centre of the Sand-Bar filled up, and that the present state of the two emissaries confirms this view. Mr. Grundy—*C.R.* April, 1897, p. 157—answers that they are artificial. It would be more strictly accurate to say that they are weak points in the sand-bar, artificially turned into regular openings. Mr. Grundy himself gives the reason why they are where they are. It is because if made close under the cliffs they would become choked by the sand forming on the inner side of the Sikia Channel. This is what has actually happened, he proceeds to say, with the emissary marked on Plate VIII., Fig. 4, as running half way through the sandbank near the South-East corner of Pylos. His arguments are surely all for me. The causes which operate now may have operated then. None the less the movements of currents are an insecure basis for argument, and I am glad that my theory can, if necessary, dispense with it. See *J.H.S.* Vol. xvi. Pt. I. p. 69.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the wall attacked by the Peloponnesians after the armistice was not wall I at all, but that which the land army had from the very first attacked on the north. Mr. Grundy (*C.R.* Dec. 1897, p. 448) should contrast Thuc. iv. 9, 2, 11, 2 and 23, 2, with iv. 13, 1. See also *C.R.* Feb. 1897, p. 4, col. 2, on *τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος*.

[2] *C.R.* April, 1897, p. 158, cp. *C.R.* Feb. 1897, pp. 8 and 9. Though still feeling that the arguments against Mr. Grundy's revised theory are overwhelming, I grant that I spoke too strongly when I said he had not one argument for it. He has pointed out that the land forces would thus have been kept in touch with Sphacteria. See, however, *J.H.S.* Vol. xvi. pp. 74, 75. Sphacteria was safe so long as the Athenians could not anchor.

[3] Prote was near enough for it to be quite clear if a fleet were making for it, even if the actual anchoring could not be seen.

[4] It might also be argued that the time they could have had at their disposal for doing this was limited. For some part of the day immediately preceding the arrival of the Athenian fleet they were still attempting to effect a landing on the S.W. (Thuc. iv. 13, 1). For this they would not only need all their ships, but also a free passage through the Sikia Channel. Besides it is evidently part of a different policy.

the value of their policy by baffling the enemy's fleet, they promptly set to work in what remained of the same evening to loose their cables and beach their ships? Men do not build elaborate fortifications and then throw them down on the same day that they have repulsed an attack.

It is, after this, hardly necessary to point out again that Thucydides' words are not only not in favour of the blocking ever having taken place, but directly against it.[1]

In regard to the fortifications on the north side of Pylos there is less to be said. Plate VII., Fig. 3, is the Cyclopean wall or tower behind Plate IX., Fig. 6. This, which I conjecture to be Demosthenes' line of defence, was marked L on my original plan; to the Cyclopean wall I gave no special lettering. In regard to these two photographs I have nothing to add to my original remarks, except that Mr. Bosanquet agrees that "L may well be rough fifth century work.[2] Plate IX., Fig. 7, however, which is wall L taken from a distance, brings out a point which I had overlooked when arguing as to the strength of the position it occupied. Mr. Grundy questioned the defensibility of this wall because it lay on a slope and the lower portion of it would therefore be exposed to enfilading.[3] I answered the argument[4] without disputing its main premise, that the enemy would overlook the lower part of the wall. I forgot that immediately in front of the upper part there is a deep fall of the ground. Mr. Lindsay has brought this clearly out in his photograph. An enemy would not be at an advantage over any section of the defenders of the wall.[5]

In regard to the *a priori* question as to whether, apart from any consideration of the wall, Mr. Grundy's line of defence or mine is the more probable, I have only to quote some remarks of Mr. Lindsay's. He does not agree with everything that I have said on the subject. He could see not that there was any possibility of landing on the north shore of Pylos behind Mr. Grundy's wall AA.[6] He does agree, however, that south of AA much ground would have to be defended, or at least guarded. His conclusion is: 'The line of LL therefore gives a much stronger and shorter line of defence. The line of AA is very easy to approach and has no such natural advantages.'

We now turn to Sphacteria. The first point to notice is Figure 10, the plan of the *παλαιὸν ἔρυμα* made this spring by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot. He writes to me that it was made with a prismatic compass and measuring tape only, but that each of the walls was measured separately and with care.[7] The contouring on the other hand was done by eye, and is quite rough.

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[1] Thuc. IV. 13, 3. See *C.R.* Feb. 1897, p. 9.

[2] *J.H.S.* Vol. xvi. pp. 67, 68. See, however, Mr. Bosanquet's notes, *infra*.

[3] *C.R.* Nov. 1896, p. 373.

[4] *C.R.* Feb. 1897, p. 5.

[5] It is only at this fall of the ground that there are the number of stones of Cyclopean size that can be seen in Fig 6.

[6] *J.H.S.* Vol. xvi. Plate II., cp. *ibid.* p. 65.

[7] Mr. Crowfoot sends me a note to say that he thinks he has rather underrated the bulge on the north-west corner of the wall round the summit. This agrees with my own remembrances of the subject. See my original plan, *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. pt. i. p. 57. On this point, and in regard to the position of the S. wall of the Hollow (p. 155), I have thought safest to leave the plan as Mr. Crowfoot made it.

In regard to this plan Mr. Crowfoot writes as follows:—

'The walls which compose the fort are in some parts difficult to trace; in others there is no regular line now visible: these I have marked on the plan with dotted lines. The island has probably never been much more

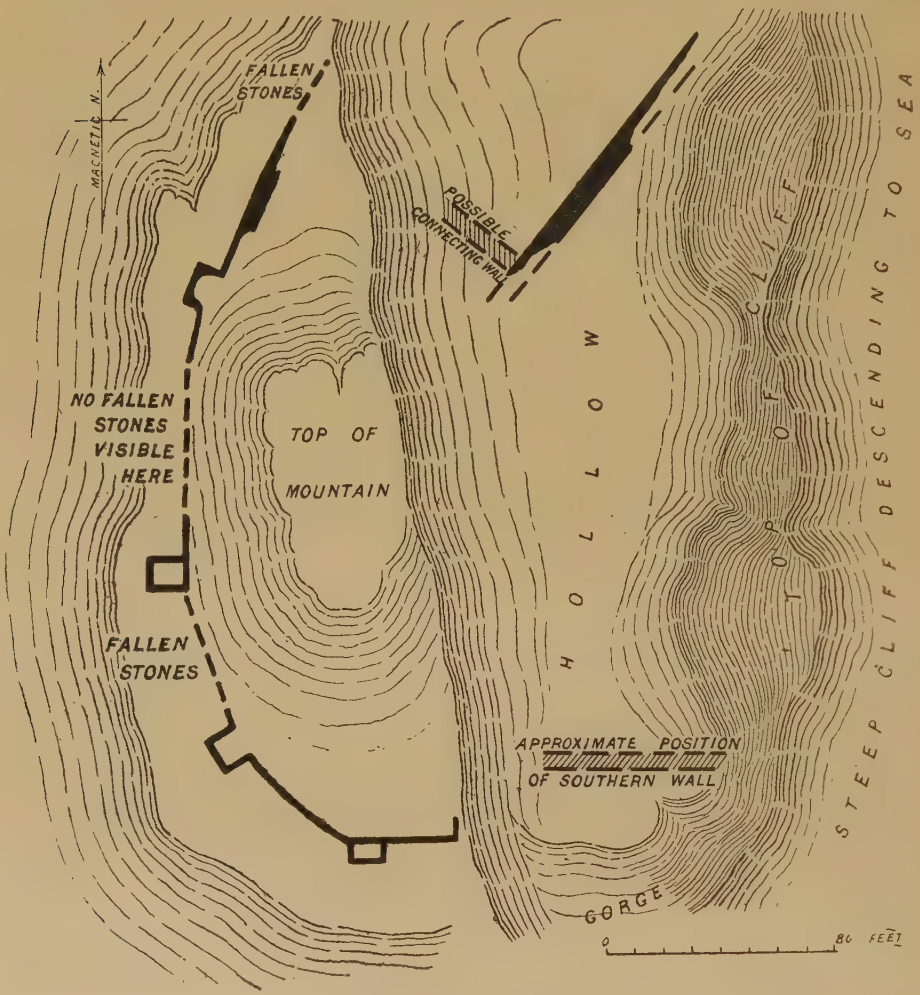

FIG. 10.—PLAN OF THE παλαιὸν ἔρυμα ON SPHACTERIA. By J. W. Crowfoot.

Of the Walls marked ∏ ∏ no certain traces were seen.
Where there are dotted lines - - - there is now no regular line of wall.
The other parts of the Fort are drawn as at present standing.

inhabited than at present, and the stones forming the walls have not been carried away: except at one point on the western side they can be seen covering the slopes beneath the fort. I saw none which had been shaped or faced either on the ground or in the remaining courses, which were often set

in rough lines. Only in one place, near the north end, could I find both sides of the wall: it measured 2 metres. Of the four bastions, only the most southerly is at all difficult to trace: behind this and behind the western bastion I could follow the line of the connecting wall, which was not, so far as I could see, "bonded" with the walls of the bastion. But when so few courses remain, it would not be safe to lay much weight upon this fact.

'Descending into the hollow I found the northern wall fairly easily, and measured it for more than 37 metres: its breadth in the middle is 3 metres. I am inclined to think that a line may have run at right angles to it, connecting it for some distance at least with the northern point of the upper fort, but there are no distinct traces of this. About the southern wall of the hollow I cannot speak so confidently. The ground was covered with such a thick growth of brushwood, etc., that though I saw several lines of stones, I could not be sure of the exact position of the wall, but I have no doubt that it lies approximately where I have marked it.

'Those who have visited the spot will see at once the importance of the Hollow. The upper fort is, except at the southern end, a mass of rock without an inch of soil anywhere upon it and the incline everywhere is considerable. The Hollow is much more attractive: it is sheltered more or less on all sides, and there is, as I found to my cost, sufficient soil to support a very sturdy underwood. But unless the summit of the hill was defended, the hollow would have been exposed to an attack from above.

'One question remains at present undiscussed. The fort was ancient in the time of Thucydides: what then can have been its original purpose? The walls of Giannitza (*v.* Pernice, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1894, p. 359) prove that the sub-Mycenaean folk of Messene were driven to higher points than those usually chosen by their predecessors, but the fort at Sphakteria can hardly have ever been the Akropolis of a flourishing community. It is more likely, one may conjecture, to have been a nest of pirates, who would have found plenty of spoil in the rich lands north and south of Pylos (*v.* Thucyd. i. 5).'

We may now illustrate the plan by the photographs. The walls round the summit of Mount Elias—marked BB on my original plan—are represented by Plate VII. Fig. 2 and Plate X. Fig. 8. In regard to them I have little to add.[1] More than one of us who have worked at Pylos and Sphacteria will be glad that our dragoman, Charles Papadopoulos, is immortalized in Fig. 2. He was with Mr. Grundy and Mr. Lindsay, as well as with me. Speaking for myself I can bear witness that nothing could have been more enthusiastic, devoted, and capable than the way in which he threw himself into the spirit of my work. I know too that it was not a little owing to his knowledge of the ground that Mr. Lindsay and his father were able to take such apposite photographs. Plate X. Fig. 9, for instance, represents the South Wall of the Hollow—marked D in my original plan—and it is particularly fortunate that Mr. Lindsay was able to photograph it. So hidden is it by brushwood that

[1] See *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. pp. 58, 59; also Mr. Bosanquet's notes, *infra*.

Mr. Crowfoot could not discover it.[1] As it was, a thick tangle had to be cut away before the camera could be got into position, and this was finally effected at so near a distance that the size of the stones is altogether out of proportion to those in the other photographs.

Mr. Lindsay, on seeing Mr. Crowfoot's plan, writes to me as follows: 'I think you are quite right in saying that the conjectural position of the southern wall on Mr. Crowfoot's plan is too far north. The wall is just where the hollow begins to slope down into the gorge. It was very hard to see owing to the dense growth of bush all round it, but the condition of the greater part of it was much like that of the north wall of the Hollow. I managed to get under the bushes at several points and made out the line of the wall. It only differed from the north wall in the fact that only a single row of stones was standing in most places and not so many stones were lying round. Where the Hollow slopes down into the gorge the rock goes sheer down on the west side a little way, say about 10 feet at first. This

Fig. 11.—Sphacteria. Wall CC.

height gradually gets less as we move further east and when it is about 8 feet high we begin to find wall D built against it on the outside. The bit we have photographed is situated at this point, built against a low line of rock. Where the rock stops the wall goes on, over the level ground, at the east side of the top of the gorge, just in front of the south end of the Hollow.'

Our next photograph is Fig. 11, the north wall of the Hollow, marked CC on my original plan. Mr. Crowfoot writes to me that it appears to be at a curious angle, but that he was struck by the fact at the time, and cannot have exaggerated it by more than a foot or two, if at all. I can quite believe that the angle is exact. Of that part of CC which connects with the upper

[1] Mr. Bosanquet did not see it, because he left his search for it to the end, when the weather became unfavourable.

fort, I thought I found traces, but grant that they were not so certain as the other parts of the fort.[1]

The only point that remains to be discussed is the last struggle round the Fort. All there is left for me to do is to quote Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Lindsay. Mr. Bosanquet writes: 'Your theory of the surprise[2] held good when read over on the spot.' Mr. Lindsay confirms my views on two essential points. The Messenians could not have surprised the Spartans except from the south-east, because any movements to the north-east must have been detected. 'Standing behind wall BB,' he says, 'and looking north-west, I could see every foot of ground right down to the sea. It would be absolutely impossible for any one to pass from the west to the north without being seen by the defenders of wall BB.' But not only was it impossible for the Messenians to enter the hollow from the north, but it was possible for them to do so from the south-east. 'The gorge' he says, 'is quite climbable. The chief difficulty would be the dense growth of bushes and trees.' In regard to the way by which the foot of the gorge was reached, Mr. Lindsay is inclined to believe with Mr. Tozer that a path may have existed along the foot of the cliff. 'We sailed close along the cliff,' he says, 'several times. It is sheer at the top, but slopes more towards the foot. There is still a continuous line of bush from a gap in the cliffs north of the Panagia landing right to the foot of the gorge. Where there is bush there is some foothold. There is only one place which would be difficult to pass now, and that from the look of the rocks has changed recently. In fact the boatmen said the rocks had been shattered there by lightning.'

With this quotation I bring my argument to an end. The need for constant reference to previous articles in this journal and elsewhere will probably irritate the reader. I must plead that the only alternative was to repeat much that is easily accessible and to run to excessive length. The time has not yet come to go over the ground again and give anything that should purport to be a final account of the whole matter. To do so at this stage would not have advanced knowledge, nor indeed have been courteous to my critics. I hope that before long I shall feel at liberty to banish polemics to footnotes and describe in direct narrative form what in my opinion actually took place in the affair of Pylos and Sphacteria.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

NOTES BY MR. R. C. BOSANQUET.

The Wall on Pylos.

PROFESSOR BURROWS quoted Blouet's opinion that this wall was modern, but ought in fairness to himself to have mentioned that one member at least of the expedition to the Morea held it to be ancient. 'Ce mur cyclopéen,'

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[1] For my argument that the Spartans must have held wall CC as well as wall BB, see *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. pt. 1, pp. 60, 61.

[2] *J.H.S.* vol. xvi. pt. 1, pp. 61, 62; *C.R.* Feb. 1897, p. 2. Cp. *C.R.* April 1897, pp. 155, 156.

says Bory de St. Vincent, 'est évidemment ce qui reste de plus antique dans tout le canton, et cependant on a affecté d'y voir une bâtisse moderne sans importance,' an allusion to the scepticism of the architectural section.[1]

A careful examination of this wall satisfied me that it contains no squared stones, no stones with mortar adhering to them, and no tiles, such as would probably be found in a wall hastily constructed for defence in recent times. The fact that it is built of undressed stones is the explanation of its survival. No one takes such stones to build with when he can get blocks ready squared a few yards away. The supply of more attractive material on Koryphasion is not yet exhausted, although an enormous quantity has been carried off to build the modern town at the south end of the bay. Bory saw the process of destruction going on in 1829. Vischer in the fifties remarks that the ruins are being used as a quarry and *verschwinden immer mehr*.[2] Many of the walls marked on Bory's plan (of which, thanks to Professor Burrows' foresight, I had a photograph with me upon the site) have been demolished, but the wall of unhewn stones still stands, eight feet thick, its top level with the ground on the west and rising from four to nine feet above that on the east. The 'tower' behind it is fully ten feet high (Plate VII., Fig. 3).

Sphacteria.

Gell speaks of Sphacteria 'famous for the defeat and capture of the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War, and *yet exhibiting the vestiges of walls which may have served as their last refuge*.'[3] This is his only remark on the subject, and he gives us no clue as to what he saw or heard.

Leake paid a hasty visit about the same time (1805) as Gell. 'Of the fort,' he says, 'of loose and rude construction, on the summit, it is not to be expected that any remains should now exist; but there are some ruins of a signal-tower of a later age on the same site.'[4] This tower probably stood not as Professor Burrows conjectured (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 63) at the S.E. angle of the Greek fort, but on the foundations of the best preserved of the western towers, in and around which I noticed a quantity of tiles. There were none elsewhere in the line of wall, and their abundance at this point is explained if a mediaeval building of stone and tiles at one time stood here. It was probably a signal-tower, as Leake inferred, intended to warn the garrison of Palaeokastro of vessels making for the southern entrance to the harbour. The *παλαιὸν ἔρυμα* was no doubt occupied as a look-out station in Hellenistic and Roman times; near the walls I picked up bits of Greek black-glazed ware, and part of a common 'pseudo-Arretine' plate. If the tower stood as late as the fighting on Sphacteria in 1825, its squared stones may have been requisitioned for the Greek batteries. The Turks too may have used them in

[1] *J.H.S.* xvi. 66. Cf. *Expéd. de Morée, Architecture* i. p. 4, and Bory de St. Vincent, *Rélation* p. 154, cf. p. 63 and his plan, Pl. iv.

[2] Vischer, *Erinnerungen u. Eindrücke aus Griechenland* (1857), p. 438.

[3] Sir W. Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 5.

[4] Leake, *Travels in the Morea* i. p. 408.

1827. Had it survived until 1829 the members of the French expedition, who looked in vain for Greek remains on the island, would probably have mentioned it.

However, not only the mediaeval tiles, but the rude blocks of the Greek foundations were left, and in 1865 Captain Mansell marked them as Cyclopean Ruins on the Admiralty Chart.

In 1888 Schliemann came here in quest of Homeric remains, and employed men, as I learned on the spot, to clear away the débris which obscured the line of the western wall.[1] His brief report attracted little or no attention.

In 1895 Professor Burrows independently discovered these walls, and was the first to discover those across the hollow. His observations have since been verified by Messrs. Lindsay, Mr. Crowfoot, and myself.

As to the early date of the little fort there can be no question. It was perhaps a stronghold to which the fishermen and shepherds living round the bay retired upon the approach of pirates. In recent centuries the bay was a favourite resort of the Corsairs.[2]

The Question of the Sand-bar.

My visit to Pylos in November 1896 chanced to coincide with the exceptionally heavy rains which caused disastrous floods in many parts of Greece. At Athens the Ilissus rose as it had not done since the spate recorded in Dodwell's drawing, destroyed houses and gardens, and inundated the Piraeus. Owing to wind and rain it was hardly possible to use my camera, but I was able to watch the process of lagoon-formation under the most favourable circumstances—a privilege for which, I afterwards paid a heavy penalty in the form of fever—and to verify the theory independently put forward by Mr. Grundy in these pages, and by Dr. Philippson in his study of the Peloponnese. On the morning before the heaviest rainfall the Jalova brook was barely a foot deep when I crossed it near its mouth. In the evening after some hours of rain it was a swollen torrent, discoloured with the sandy soil of the plain and quite unfordable. The main stream was certainly emptying itself into the bay, not into the lagoon. There was a gale blowing from the south, and much of the solid matter brought down by the flood must have been added to the sand-bank which separates the lagoon on the north from the bay. Two days later, when I again rode to Old Pylos round the shores of the bay, the trunks of several trees had been thrown up on the south slope of the sandbank, and the wash of the sea was fast covering them with sand and shingle. Within the lagoon a similar process had been at work. The water was much discoloured and had risen to the level of the sea outside. Evidently the soil brought down by the streams which discharge into the lagoon is deposited on the bottom, tending to fill it up, while the soil

[1] *Ath. Mitth.* xiv. 132. [2] Randolph, *Present State of the Morea* (1686), p. 25.

brought down by the Jalova and other streams flowing into the bay is deposited on the bottom in calm weather, but goes to increase the sand-bank whenever the wind is from the south or west. Before the partial obstruction of the Sikia Channel the flow of the sea from the west must have tended to keep open a passage through the sand-bar at its western end. But I see no reason to suppose that the slope, which undoubtedly exists to-day at the south-east angle of Koryphasion, did not exist two thousand years ago. Professor Burrows' view, that this was the place where Demosthenes drew up his ships and where the Spartans proposed to use their *μηχαναὶ*, seemed to me both possible and reasonable; and I spent some time on this part of the ground.

May it not have been here, *near the present well*, that the Athenian sailors *διαμώμενοι τὸν κάχληκα ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἔπινον οἷον εἰκὸς ὕδωρ*?

Maps.

A useful bibliography relating to Pylos and Sphacteria will be found in Mr. Frazer's *Pausanias*. It seems worth while to add a note on the maps of the area under discussion.

I. Leake (1805). *Travels in the Morea* i. Pl. iv., 1830.
A rough sketch-map.

II. Stanhope and Allason (1814).
Cf. J. S. Stanhope, *Topography of Plataea, etc.*, p. 27, 1835.
Perhaps never published. Gail, who names Allason, Gell, and Hobhouse, as authorities for his map of Plataea, would probably have used Allason's work, had it been accessible, for his very inaccurate map of Pylos and Sphacteria, but does not profess to have done so. See J. B. Gail, *Cartes relatives à la géographie de Hérodote, Thucydide, etc.*, 1824, Pl. 26, 47, 63.

III. Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N., *Bay of Navarin* (*Admiralty*), 1820, and later revisions.
[Hence Bursian, *Geogr. von. Griechenland* ii. Taf. V. 1872.]

IV. The same. Two maps in Arnold, Thucydides ii., 1832.

V. Bory de St. Vincent (1829) *Expéd. Scient. de Morée, Atlas*, Pl. iv., 1835.
[Hence Curtius, *Peloponnesos* ii. Taf. viii., 1852.]

VI. Blouet (1829) *Expéd. Scient. de Morée, Architecture* i. Pl. v.-vii., 1832.
Unimportant map of Pylos, plan of Palaeokastro, plan and section of Nestor's cave, detail of Hellenic wall, plan and elevation of Hellenic pier.

VII. Capt. A. L. Mansell, R.N., *Bay of Navarin* (*Admiralty*), 1865.

VIII. G. B. Grundy (1895) *Journal of Hellenic Studies* xvi. Pl. ii., iii., 1896.

Bory de St. Vincent's map will always be of value as recording walls and ancient remains, some of which have since disappeared. For topographical and historical purposes Mr. Grundy's admirable survey has superseded all others. Since it is certain to be largely copied, I feel sure that he will pardon me for pointing out some trifling errors of nomenclature, due for the most part to the recent Admiralty map, which is not so safe a guide as it should be.

J.H.S. xvi. Pl. III. *Lykos* (cf. p. 5 'The alluvial plain of Lykos'), should be *Levko* (Λευκό). *Gadaro* Point should be *Gaidaro*. In both cases the

right spelling is given in the Admiralty map of 1820. *Tortori* rocks, Gk. τούρτουρι. *Pylos Island*, a map-maker's name for the rock south of Sphacteria, is not known locally. Cf. B. de St. V.'s protest, *Rélation*, p. 48. *Marathonisi:* the real name is *Chelonaki*, 'tortoise,' which appears under the form *Kilonaki* in the map made by Smyth for Arnold. Smyth's Admiralty map gives *Marathonisi* or *Kuloneski*, and these names have passed into all the later maps and into the text of the Expedition to the Morea. Possibly the island was once called *Marathonisi*, but the name has long been obsolete. *Kuloneski* is suspiciously like an engraver's misreading of Smyth's *Kilonaki*. Enquiry at Pylos failed to elicit anything but *Chelonaki*, with a possible variant *Chelonitza*. Finlay gives the right spelling in his account of the Battle of Navarino.

The elders of Pylos also denied that the name Boidio-Kilia had anything to do with the cave. Leake is the first and perhaps the only authority for the statement that the cave gave its name to the harbour. In the same year (1805) Gell saw the cave 'which some Frank has taught the two or three Greeks who ever heard of Nestor to believe was the stall where he kept his cows.' Both Blouet and Bory in 1829 speak of the cave as bearing the name of Nestor. It is possible that Leake or his informant was mistaken. A last century writer mentions that part of the harbour of Zea (Keos) was called 'le cul de bœuf.'

R. C. Bosanquet.

[I am grateful to Mr. Bosanquet for more than one reference, including that of Bory de St. Vincent's *Rélation*, which I had read, but overlooked at the time of writing. Vischer, it should be added, saw the Tower behind L (Erinnerungen, p. 435) and considered it Cyclopean. In reference to Boidia Koilia, it may be worth while to point out that the connection of the name with Thucydides' Βουφράς (*J.H.S.* vol. xvi., pt. i., p. 19) is as old as the French Expedition, where it appears in the *Recherches Géographiques* of M. Boblaye (1836, p. 114).

To Mr. Bosanquet's list of Maps I would add an interesting plan of Modon and Navarin, published in Venice, 1572 (Brit. Mus. Cat. S 132 (41)). It is based, I think, on local knowledge, gained, perhaps, immediately after the battle of Lepanto. The lagoon is treated as an inner harbour with a narrow entrance. Sphacteria (the name is not given) lies in front of the outer harbour, through not quite in the right position. Prote (Prodano) is placed rather too near. 'Navarino,' without the qualification of 'Vecchio,' is the name given to our Pylos. New Navarin was either not yet built when the information on which the map is based was procured, or was not firmly established enough to be given a name of its own by the Venetians. It was built at any rate by the end of 1572.

Ronald M. Burrows.]

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,
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COIN-TYPES OF SOME KILIKIAN CITIES

[Plates XII., XIII.].

Aigeai.

1. Æ 32.—ΑVΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ l., ΤΡΑ[ΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ . . .] r. Head of the Emperor, laureate, to right.

Rev. ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ l., ΕΚΚΛΗ[ΣΙΑ ?] r., $\overline{\text{ΕΜΡ}}$ (145) l. in field. Goddess in double chiton seated to left, patera in her right hand, the left resting on the chair. In the exergue is the emblem of the town, a goat lying to left.

Dr. H. Weber, London. **Pl. XII. No. 1.**

The era of the city begins in the autumn of 47 B.C. Hence this coin, which is struck in high relief, dates from the second year of the reign of Trajan (autumn 98–99 A.D.). The head is not a likeness. The inscription on the reverse identifies the goddess represented with the Ἐκκλησία of the Aigeaians, a personification which has not hitherto, as far as I know, occurred on coins.

2. Æ 26.—ΜΑΡ . ΙΟV . ϕΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ ΕΠΙ . ΚΕC. Bust of the Caesar, laureate, to right, wearing cuirass and draped.

Rev. ΕΥ . ΠΙ . ΘΕ . ΜΑ . ΑΙΓ l., ΕΩΝ ΝΕ r., ΒϥC l. in the field. *Tyche* seated to left, wearing a turreted crown and veil. In her right, a small temple represented in profile, with a statue under the arch of the façade and an eagle on the pediment. At the feet of the goddess a goat lying to left, its head reverted.

Coll. Giel in St. Petersburg. **Pl. XII. No. 2.**

ΕΠΙ . ΚΕC . stands for ἐπιφανέστατον Καίσαρα,[1] ΕV . ΠΙ . ΘΕ . ΜΑ for εὐγενῶν πιστῶν θεοφιλῶν Μακεδόνων.[2]

Anazarbos.

3. Æ 21.—ΑΥΤΟ . ΚΑΙ ΘΕ . ΥΙ . ΔΟΜΙ r., ΤΙΑΝΟC CΕ . ΓΕΡ . l. Head of the Emperor, laureate, to right; behind it a *star*.

[1] Cf. *Griech. Münzen*, p. 142, 422 (Saloninus).

[2] Cf. *loc. cit.* p. 180, 549.

Rev. ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩΝ ⲡⲣ (πρὸς) l., ΑΝΑΖΡΑΒΩ (*sic*) r., ΕΤΟ|ΥC Β|Ρ in two lines in the field. Elpis as goddess of the city stands to left, wearing turreted crown, double chiton, and cloak. In the right hand, which is raised, she holds a flower, and in the left, which is lowered, a fold of her robe.

Inv. Waddington, No. 4111, Pl. IX. 26. **Pl. XII. No. 3.**

Cf. the erroneous description of this specimen in V. Langlois, *Revue Num.* 1854, p. 9, 3, Pl. I. 2, and A. de Longpérier's correction, *loc. cit.* p. 137.

A similar piece with the date ΙΡ published by Babelon in the *Annuaire de la Soc. de Num.* vii. 1883, p. 25, Pl. II. 6 apparently also bears Elpis as the type of the reverse; instead of [ϕΛΑΥ]ΙΟΣ we should probably read [ΘΕ . Υ]ΙΟΣ.

Elpis again appears as goddess of the city, wearing a turreted crown, on coins of Alexandria in Egypt.[1]

4. Æ 23.—ΑΥΤ . ΚΑΙ . ΝΕΡ . ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ . . . Head of the Emperor, laureate, to right.

Rev. ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩΝ r., ⲡⲣ ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒ[Ω] l. Bust of Zeus (?) to right, laureate and draped, in the background the Acropolis rock, crowned by two buildings, one on right, one on left. Between them, above the bust, the date [ϵΤ]| ϖΚΡ (126).

Berlin Museum. **Pl. XII. No. 4.**

A similar representation is seen on a coin with the portrait of Claudius.[2]

The only era of Anazarbos begins in the autumn of 19 B.C. Thus the date 126 corresponds to the year beginning autumn 107 and ending autumn 108 A.D.

Augusta.

5. Æ 26.—ΑVΤΟΚΡ . ΚΑΙ . ΝΕΡΥΙ (*sic.*) r., ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕ . ΓΕΡ . ΔΑ . l. Head of the Emperor, laureate, to right.

Rev. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΝΩΝ r., ΕΤΟΥΣ ϖΠ (86) l. Bust of youthful Dionysos wreathed with ivy to right, on the breast robe or nebris, over the left shoulder thyrsos. Behind, kantharos.

My collection.

Similarly in Cat. Greppo No. 1093, with erroneous description, and Babelon, *Annuaire de la Soc. de Num.* vii. Pl. II. 10 with the date Π (?). This date is inadmissible for the reason that Trajan did not assume the title 'Dacicus' until the end of 102. As the era of Augusta begins in the autumn of 20 A.D., the year 86 runs from autumn 105 to 106.

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[1] Poole, *Alexandria*, Pl. VIII, 1620. [2] *Monn. grecques.* p. 349, 10, Pl. F, 20.

Lamos.

6. Æ 28.—ΑΥ . Κ . ΠΟ . ΛΙ . l., ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC r. Bust of the Emperor with radiate crown, cuirass and drapery, to right.

Rev. ΛΑΜ . ΜΗΤΡ . Τ l., ΗC ΛΑΜΩ (τιδος) r. Apollo standing to left, with chlamys on his back and quiver on the right shoulder. In the left hand he holds a bow, and in the right, which is hanging down, a branch.

My collection. **Pl. XII. No. 5.**

Hitherto only two coins of Lamos, bearing likenesses of Severus and Caracalla, have been published.[1] The town lay on the river Lamos, somewhat to the east of Elaiusa Sebaste.[2]

Mallos.

6*a*. Æ 37.—ΑVΤΟ . ΚΑΙC . ΜΑΡΚ . ΟΠ . . . Bust of Macrinus with laurel wreath, cuirass and cloak to right.

Rev. ΜΑΛ . ΙΕΡ . ΤΟΥ | ΘΕΟΥ ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΟV, in the field l. ЄΤ., r. $\frac{\Delta\Pi}{C}$ (year 284). Tyche seated to l. with turreted crown and veil. In her right hand are ears of corn (?), the left rests on the rock. At the feet of the goddess are two river gods swimming one to left, the other to right.

Num. Chronicle 1897, Proceedings p. 6, where the date is given ΑΠC.

This is the first dated coin of Mallos. The era of the city may be the same as that of Mopsuestia, which begins in the autumn of 68 B.C., or it may be the one beginning a year later. The date 284 would thus correspond either to the year 217 (*i.e.* autumn of 216), the first year of Macrinus' reign, or (counting from 67 B.C.) to the autumn of 217 to 218.

The mention of the *Hieron of the deified Amphilochos*, the founder of Mallos, also occurs here for the first time on coins. This sanctuary was the seat of an oracle, famed till late Roman times, which Alexander the Great, on his march to Issos, distinguished by offering sacrifice.[3] Amphilochos as hero and seer is represented on various other coins of Mallos[4] as well as on a coin of Tarsos (v. No. 53).

The two river-gods doubtless denote the two arms into which the Pyramos divides from Mallos to its mouth.[5]

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[1] *Nouv. Annales de l'Inst. Archéol.* II. p. 349, Pl. E.

[2] Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, Wien, 1896, p. 47f.

[3] Imhoof, *Mallos*, *Annuaire de la Soc. Fr. de Numismatique*, 1883, p. 95–98 and 126.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 118, 59; 119, 62 and 63; 120, 66 and Pl. VI, 38, 40 and 43.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 94. Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, Wien, 1896, p. 9.

6*b*. Æ 35.—AYT . . . . MAPK . OΠEΛ . ΔIA[ΔOVMENI-AN]ON | CЄ. Bust of Diadumenianus to left, draped.

Rev. M[AΛ . I]ЄP . ΠOΔ . | ΘЄOV AMΦIΛOXOV. Youthful Amphilochos nude, wearing boots, standing to left, with a branch in his right hand, and in left, drapery and sceptre. At his feet in front is a boar to left. In the field l. [ЄT .], r. $\frac{\Delta\Pi}{[C]}$ (284).

Löbbecke. **Pl. XII. No. 6.**

Cf. Inv. Waddington, No. 4369, with MIΛIHPΠOΛ (?) ΘЄOY etc., ЄT . ΔΠ . (the robe is described as a snake).

The numeral sign C in the date appears to have been missed in the striking, either from some damage to the die or from carelessness on the part of the die-cutter. I have no suggestion to make for the completion of ΠOΔ, which in Löbbecke's specimen takes the place of TOY on the previous coin. If Δ stands for Λ, *πόλις* would be a possible reading.

Selinus Traianopolis.

The earliest known coinage of Selinus is that with the portrait of Queen Iotape.[1] With Trajan begins the coinage bearing portrait-heads of the emperors.[2]

7. Æ 32.—AVTO.KAI.MAP. r., AVPH. below, ANT.... l. Bust of the youthful *Caracalla* r., laureate and draped.

Rev. TPAIANO r. ΠOΛЄITΩN CЄΛI . THC IЄP l., AC r. Youthful *god* standing to front, with long hair, chiton and girdle, and a cloak hanging over his back. In the right hand, stretched out sideways, is a patera, and the left, raised, rests on a sceptre, on the top of which there seems to be a bird sitting to left.

My collection.

8. Æ 29.—AV . KAI . M . AV . CЄ . l., AΛЄΞANΔPOC r. Bust of the Emperor to right, laureate, and wearing a cloak.

Rev. TPAIANO . CЄΛIN l., OV . THC IЄPA r., C in exergue. The same *god* to front, with patera and sceptre. On the right, at his feet, is a bird sitting to right, with head turned round and flapping wings.

My collection. **Pl. XII. No. 7.**

Coins of the same type with portraits of Caracalla (?) and Philip are described by Boutkowski (who identifies the god wrongly, once as an Amazon and again as Diana,[3]) and also by Babelon in Inv. Waddington No. 4486, Pl. XI. 15, with the portrait of Macrinus. The type on the reverse undoubtedly

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[1] *Griech. Münzen*, p. 190, 580; Löbbecke, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* xvii, p. 17, Pl. II, 8.

[2] Inv. Waddington, No. 4485.

[3] Serrure's *Bull. de Num.* 1895, p. 3.

represents Apollo, and seems to be a replica of the Sidetic god with the raven.[1]

Soloi Pompeiopolis.

9. Æ 24.—Aegis with winged gorgoneion in the middle. Border of dots. Edge sloping.

Rev. ΣΟΛΕΩΝ, below. *Goddess* with turreted crown riding on a bull which gallops to right and which she holds by the horns. In the field l., above 𐤀, r. 𐤍 or 𐤊.

Gr. 8. 30.

My collection.—Cf. V. Langlois and A. de Longpérier, *Revue num.* 1854, p. 23 and 142. Pl. IV. 27.

10. Æ 25.—The same, l., above 𐤀 and behind the riding goddess an *eagle* standing to left, head reverted.

Brit. Museum. T. Combe, Pl. X. 17. **Pl. XII. No. 9.**

11. Æ 26.—Similar, l., above 𐤁, in front of the riding goddess an *owl* sitting to right.

Gr. 14. 51.

A. Löbbecke. **Pl. XII. No. 8.**

A design similar to the 'rider' type of these coins may be seen on the silver coins of King *Stasioikos*. One of these a stater (gr. 11. 10) in my collection, is represented in **Pl. XII. No. 10.** It is usual to interpret this Kyprian goddess as *Aphrodite* or *Astarte*,[2] and undoubtedly the riding goddess of Soloi (who is identified as goddess of the city by her turreted crown) should be interpreted in the same way, and not as the Greek Europa.[3]

To these coins of the period of the Seleucidae correspond half-pieces of the same date:

12. Æ 20.—Head of Athena to right. Border of dots. Edge sloping.

Rev. ΣΟΛΕΩΝ r. Bearded Dionysos with *bull's horns*, standing to front in a long chiton, kantharos in his right hand, the left on a thyrsos. In the field l. 𐤀 and 𐤅. Border of dots.

Gr. 6. 40.

My collection. **Pl. XII. No. 11.**

Copenhagen, Ramus i. p. 271, 1 described as Bacchus simply. Munich, Mionnet iii. 611, 344 as Zeus.

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[1] Cf. *Num. Chronicle*, 1897, Pl. IX, 6; *Zeitschr. f. Num.* x. (1883), Pl. I. 2–4.

[2] De Luynes, *Num. Cypr.* Pl. V. 1 and 2; Stephani *Compte rendu*, 1866, p. 101; Six, *Séries Cypr.* p. 348, *ff.* but Babelon, *Rois Achéménides*, p. cxlvi. and Inv. Waddington, No. 4840, describes the riding goddess as Artemis.

[3] De Longpérier *loc. cit.* Babelon Inv. Waddington, No. 4501.

Cambridge, Leake, *Num. Hell.* p. 123 called 'Bacchus in pointed cap' and with two different monograms.

Berlin, on l., ⍓ and ı.

The Bull-Bacchus, who, according to Inv. Waddington, No. 4524, seems to occur also on a bronze with Gordian, is a rare type on coins, and has hitherto been known only from coins of Skepsis.[1]

After the restoration of the ancient Soloi by the Kilikian emigrants who returned from Armenia, the city took the name *Pompeiopolis*, and a new era began in autumn 66 B.C.[2] The reading 'Solopolis' on coins given by Khell and Allier is founded on an error, that is to say, on arbitrary restoration of the initial letters of imperfectly preserved inscriptions.

On the other hand it appears from the following rare and rudely executed copper coins, which were probably struck while the city was being rebuilt, that its name was at first, but only for a short time, Πομπήϊοι or Πομπηΐα.

13. Æ 22.—Head of *Pompeius* to right; behind AN. Border of dots.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΑΝΩΝ in a straight line r. Nike moving to right, with wreath and palm-branch; in the field r. Θ | A | N, l. ⍓

Gr. 7. 37.

My collection.

14. Æ 23.—Similar; in the field r. Å, ⋈, ⍓ (?).

Gr. 8. 65.

My collection. **Pl. XII. No. 12.**

These coins show the usual types of Pompeiopolis, but the name of the inhabitants takes the form Πομπηϊανοί.

During the empire, down to the middle of the 2nd Century, Pompeiopolis appears to have coined very little. But afterwards, the year 229 (autumn 163–4) is marked by a numerous and peculiar coinage, which includes, besides Concordia coins of the two emperors, Marcus and Lucius, a series of coins without portraits of the emperors. Of the latter kind I bring together the following:

15. Æ 26.—ΓN . ΠΟΜ l., ΠΗΙΟC r. Head of Pompeius to right.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟ r. ΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΘΚC l. Tyche seated to l. with turreted crown and veil, a swimming river-god at her feet. The chair is ornamented with a sphinx.

Paris. Mionnet III. 612, 354. **Pl. XII. No. 14.**

Milan. *Mus. Sanclementi*, II. p. 1, Pl. XIII., 1.

16. Æ 21.—Head of Pompeius to right.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟ | ΛΕΙΤΩΝ and in the field r. ΘΚC. Bearded figure standing.

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[1] *Griech. Münzen*, p. 104 *ff*, Pl. VIII, 6–9.

[2] *Monnaies grecques*, p. 362; *Zeitschr. f. Num.* x. (1883), p. 296 *ff*.

Berlin. v. Prokesch-Osten, *Comptes rendus de la Soc. fr. de Num.* vi. 1875, p. 245, 41.

17. Æ 18.—ΘΚϹ l. Nike with wreath and palm-branch moving to left.

Rev. ΠΟΜ[ΠΗΙΟ] l., ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ r. Bearded figure standing to left, the upper part of the body nude, the right hand raised, the left at the side.

Rollin and Feuardent. **Pl. XII. No. 13.**

18. Æ 33.—*Zeus Nikephoros* seated on throne to left, his left hand raised and resting on sceptre.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟ l; ΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΘΚϹ r. Bearded figure standing to front, the head, laureate, turned to the right, the right hand at the side; wears boots; the robe leaves the upper part of the body and the right arm nude, while a fold of it falls over the left fore-arm.

My collection. **Pl. XII. No. 15.**

Paris. Mionnet III. 612, 351; Sestini, *Lett.* vii. p. 61, Pl. IV. 7.

Cat. Allier, p. 97.

Inv. Waddington, No. 4515, where the statue is described as Chrysippos.

19. Æ 29.—ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ r., ΘΚϹ l. Bust of *Athena* to r., with helmet and aegis.

Rev. Apollo nude, standing to front, the head to left, the legs crossed. In the right hand he holds a laurel branch, in the left the lyre, resting on a column.

Florence. **Pl. XII. No. 16.**

Paris. Mionnet III. 612, 352.

20. Æ 26.—ΘΚϹ l. Bust of the Stoic *Chrysippos* (?) to right, with cloak, the left hand touching his beard.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟ l., ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ r. Bust of the poet and astronomer *Aratos* (?) to right, wearing cloak, looking upward.

Paris. Mionnet III. 612, 353.

Mus. Hunter, Pl. XLIII. 23 (Visconti, *Icon. gr.* Pl. XXIII.) where the date, half obliterated, is wrongly given as ΟΡ.

Brit. Mus. *Zeitschr. für Num.* ix. p. 118 and 127, Pl. IV. 12 and 13, where the names of the portrait heads are interchanged. Imhoof, *Porträtköpfe*, p. 89, Pl. VIII. 31–32, cf. Schuster, *Porträts der griech. Philosophen*, 1876, p. 22, Pl. IV. 2. **Pl. XII. No. 17.**

Mus. Basel.

From the correspondence of date and from the types in coins 15–20 it is safe to conclude that they were all struck to commemorate some great festival in the year 164, perhaps the dedication of some grand building, new

or newly-restored, and adorned with statues of famous men. Marcus is so well-known as a lover of learning and its representatives and as a generous patron of the sciences, that we may further conjecture that he himself provided the funds for the structure or its adornment.

Similar examples of coins struck for special occasions or festivals are described elsewhere[1]; it would be easy to add to the list.

No commentary is necessary on the portrait-heads in No. 20, except to say that they have sometimes been called Chrysippos and Aratos, sometimes Aratos and Chrysippos.[2] I am inclined for the present to prefer the former interpretation, because in antiquity, as now, every unbiassed person must have recognised the meditative philosopher in the design on the obverse, and in that on the reverse the poet and astronomer with his eyes raised to heaven.

The standing figure in No. 18 is probably not, as Babelon supposes, meant for Chrysippos. The presence of the laurel wreath makes it more likely that the head represents Marcus Aurelius as Emperor and Philosopher. The statue on No. 17, on the other hand, may very well represent Chrysippos, for there was in the Kerameikos at Athens a statue of him, seated indeed, but with the hand stretched out.[3]

21. Æ 32.—AVT . K . M . ANT . ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CЄB., in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the Emperor to right, with radiate crown and cuirass.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟ l., ΛЄΙΤΩΝ ϛΤ (306) $\overline{\text{A}}$ and in the field l ϛ. *Apollo* laureate, nude, standing to left, with chlamys, bow over the left shoulder, and boots. In the lowered right hand is a laurel branch, and in front of him a flaming altar.

My collection. **Pl. XII. No. 18.**

Brit. Mus. Similar, without the altar.

22. Æ 33.—Obverse, similar.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛЄΙΤΩΝ, in the field r. $\overline{\text{A}}$ϟ and ϟΤ (306). Bust to right, beardless, draped.

Inv. Waddington, No. 4525, Pl. XI. 18.[4] **Pl. XII. No. 19.**

Babelon describes the bust as a portrait of Chrysippos; in reality it represents neither Chrysippos nor Aratos, but some other celebrity of Soloi, perhaps (if we may rely on references like Strabo 671) Philemon.

23. Æ 32.—AVT . . . . ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ ЄVC . CЄB., in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the emperor to right, with radiate crown and cuirass.

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[1] *Griech. Münzen*, p. 56–58. Sebastopolis in Pontos, No. 62–71.

[2] Gercke, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* V, 1890; *Beil.* p. 56—58.

[3] Cicero *de fin. bon. et mal.* I, 39.

[4] According to Arigoni II, Pl. 40, 364, there is a similar coin with Geta.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛ . ΙΑΤ (311), below ς. Bust of *Chrysippos* (?) draped to right, the right hand touching his chin, which is bearded.

A. Löbbecke. **Pl. XII. No. 20.**

Inv. Waddington, No. 4528, Pl. XI. 19, where the date is incorrectly read as LAT and the portrait described as Aratos.

24. Æ 30. — ΑΥ . Κϵ . Γ . ΟVΙΒΙ . ΤΡϵΒΩ . ΓΑΛΛΟΝ [ϹϵΒ .], in the field Π . | Π . Bust of Gallus to right, with radiate crown, cuirass, and cloak.

Rev. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟ l., ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ r., in the field Α | ς.

Apollo as on No. 21 without the altar.

My collection.

Paris. Mionnet III. 615, 365, described as '*femme debout tenant une branche.*'

The signs $\bar{\text{Α}}$ ς do not stand for the date, but probably indicate the value of '6 assaria.'

TARSOS.

25. Æ 28.—Head of *Antiochus IX.* with diadem, slightly bearded, to right. Fillet-border.

Rev. [ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟV r., ϕΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ | Α ΔΙ l. The so-called 'Monument of Sardanapalos' with an eagle on the summit.

Gr. 16. 50.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 1.**

Among the various examples of the tetradrachm of Antiochus IX. lately come to light, this one is distinguished by the execution of the portrait, which is unusually well modelled for the period.

26. Æ 24.—Bust of *Tyche*, with turreted crown, veil, and earring, to right. Fillet-border.

Rev. ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ r., $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\text{Α}}$ l. Asiatic *god* to right, standing on the back of a winged lion with horns.

Gr. 8. 70.

My collection.

This piece is overstruck on an example of the following coin of *Adana.*

Obv. Head of a goddess with veil r.

Rev. ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ r. Zeus Nikephoros seated l.

27. Æ 25.—Bust of *Tyche* to right, with turreted crown and veil. Border of dots.

Rev. ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ r., ΑΣΚ | ΓΑΥ l. The so-called 'Monument of Sardanapalos,' with an eagle on the top. Border of dots.

Gr. 9. 05.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 2.**

Similar pieces have ΔΙΟ . ΘΕΟ . ΜΑΡ . ΧΑΡ . and CAN . ΦΙΛΙ . L in the field,[1] while as a rule coins with the types of Nos. 26 and 27 have only monograms.

I have elsewhere given more detailed descriptions of the design on the monument,[2] and two additional ones will be found under Nos. 28 and 29. This figure was formerly called Sandan, the Asiatic Herakles; Babelon considers that it ought to be identified with Zeus of Doliche, whose worship was somewhat widely spread in late Roman times.[3] But this new suggestion is not entirely satisfactory.

The god whose image persisted almost unchanged on coins of Tarsos from the period of the Seleucidae to Gallienus is certainly a local divinity associated with the city from the most primitive times, and there is no evidence to prove his identity or even relationship to the Syrian god in Doliche. It was not until shortly before the breaking up of the old religions that the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus seems to have gained much ground. Hence we are not justified in giving to a purely Tarsian representation the name of a composite divinity of late Roman date with characteristics foreign to the ideas of the ancient Kilikians. Rather we must be content for the present to use a purely general name such as 'Asiatic god.' For the figures on old Asiatic monuments which are most nearly approached by the type of Tarsos, as, for instance, those on the Babylonian cylinders [4] and on the rock-reliefs of Jasilikaia near Bogazköi (north of Tavion) [5] have not yet been explained with any certainty.

The 'Dolichenus' of Roman times, a figure of Zeus usually standing on a bull, should probably with more reason be referred back to one of the Syrian gods which appear with various attributes, and sometimes seated or standing between two bulls, on coins of Antiochos XII.,[6] of Rosos,[7] Hieropolis,[8] Gabala,[9] and Dion.[10]

28. Æ 26.—ΑVΤ · ΚΑΙ . ΘΕ . ΤΡΑ . ΠΑΡ . VΙ . ΘΕ . ΝΕΡ . VΙ . ΤΡΑΙ . ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CΕ .

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[1] *Revue num.*, 1854, Pl. IV. 29; Inv. Waddington, Nos. 4609 and 4610; Brit. Mus.

[2] *Monn. grecques*, p. 366, 54–57, Pl. F 23–25; 433, 96; 435, 112–113; Pl. H 14; *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder*, p. 70, Pl. XII. 7–9.

[3] *Les Rois de Syrie*, p. clvi. ff. Cf. E. Meyer, Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. p. 1191ff. According to Meyer, the cult of Dolichenus can only be traced back to the middle of the 2nd century A.D. and was of ephemeral significance.

[4] Raoul-Rochette *l'Hercule Assyrien*, 1848, Pl. IV. 16 and 17; Lajard, *Culte de Vénus*, 1849, Pl. IV. 11–12.

[5] Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, IV (1890), Pl. VIII. E, and No. 637, where one of the gods who stand on lions appears with a sword at his side and a double axe and staff in his hand.

[6] *Monn. grecques*, p. 437, 121, Pl. H 15. Strangely enough, Leo Bloch, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *Kora* p. 1314, maintains that this bearded figure is female, and represents a draped Isis.

[7] *Loc. cit.* p. 440, 8 Pl. VII. 223.

[8] *Griech. Münzen*, p. 235, 772–775, Pl. XIV. 7.

[9] *Nouv. Gal. Myth.* p. 89, Pl. XIV. 16; Lajard, *Culte de Vénus*, Pl. V. 5.

[10] Lajard, *loc. cit.* Pl. IV. 6; de Saulcy, *Num. de Terre-sainte*, Pl. XIX. 9. Cf. also Wolters, *Zeus Heliopolites*, *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* vi, 1890, p. 65–8 (illustration); Studniczka, *Bildwerke aus Carnuntum*, *Archaeol.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oester.-Ungarn*, viii, p. 64, Pl. II.

Bust of Hadrian, laureate, with cuirass and drapery to right.

Rev. ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ l., ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ r.

Bearded god standing to right on the back of a horned lion. He is dressed in a short chiton and cloak; on his head is a Persian tiara crowned with a top-piece; behind the left shoulder is a quiver in front of which is a projection like a bow. At the left side is a sword, and in the left hand a double axe and wreath. The right hand is stretched out. Countermark with the head of an emperor, laureate, to right, and A | M | K under it.

Gr. 9. 75.

My collection.

This type, which has just been discussed, and occurs in different varieties of die on silver coins of Hadrian, is well illustrated in Imhoof and Keller's '*Tier- und Pflanzenbilder*,' Pl. XII. 8.[1]

The head in the countermark appears to represent Caracalla; the three letters are the initials of the well-known titles of the city, *πρώτη, μεγίστη, καλλίστη*.[2]

As a variety of the 'Monument' figure the following is also remarkable:—

29. Æ 32.—ΑΥ . ΚΑΙ . Γ . ΜΕϹϹ . ΚΥΙΝ . ΔΕΚΙΟϹ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟϹ, in the field Π | Π. Bust of the Emperor to right, with radiate crown, cuirass, and cloak.

Rev. ΤΑΡϹΟΥ l., ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩϹ r., in the field r. Α . Μ . Κ . Γ . Β . The type is similar to that of No. 28, but instead of standing on the lion, the god is mounting the animal from behind by placing his left foot on its back.

Coll. Gonzenbach, St. Gall. **Pl. XIII. No. 3.**

To judge by coins of the Empire, *Apollo Lykeios* (or *Tarseus*) and *Perseus* were two of the divinities whose cults enjoyed most prestige in Tarsos. They are often represented together. The figure of Apollo is usually of archaic style. He is nude and stands to front with the legs close together. His long hair falls sideways over his shoulders, and his head is adorned with a laurel wreath. The god stands on the *Omphalos*, on either side of which lies a bull; in his hands he grasps the fore-legs of two wolves that are standing up on their hind legs on either side of him. Sometimes a high column occurs as a basis for this group.

The creatures which the god holds by the fore-legs are not deer or antelopes, as was formerly assumed, nor are they greyhounds, as Babelon[3] conjectures, but *wolves*. This is placed beyond a doubt by the form of the

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[1] Cf. also de Luynes, *Num. des Satrapies*, Pl. VII. 1.

[2] *Monn. grecques* p. 351; Waddington, *Bull. de Corr. Hell*, vii. (1883), p. 283 ff.

[3] Inv. Waddington, Nos. 4638, 4659.

long tail represented, as a rule, not turned upwards as in a dog, but hanging down.[1] Add to this that the wolf is one of the well-known and wide-spread symbols or attributes of Apollo, while the dog is not.

The cultus image of Apollo occurs on coins from Hadrian to Gallienus. Sometimes the omphalos is indicated merely by a small arch, without the attendant bulls, and on some late coins the archaic character of the statue has been missed through lack of skill on the part of the die-engraver.

As the following list will show, the statue of Apollo often appears erected before Perseus sacrificing, or as an attribute of Perseus. Perseus was represented in various ways as founder and hero of the city,[2] and was honoured as *βοηθός* (No. 41 and 42) and *πατρῷος* (No. 48).

I.—Apollo.

1. *The Cultus image on the column.*

See below, Perseus, Nos. 45–47.

2. *The Cultus image without the column.*

30. Æ 31—ϕAYCTEINA l, CEBACTH r. Bust of the younger Faustina to left.

Rev. AΔPIANHC TAPC | OV MHTPOΠOΛEΩC. The cultus image with the two wolves to front standing on the omphalos between two recumbent bulls.

Paris.

Mionnet iii. 627, 435; Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte de Vénus*, p. 70, Pl. V. 1 and *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1854, p. 215; Overbeck, *loc. cit.* Coin-plate I. 30.

31. Æ 32.—*Obv.* Macrinus.

Rev. [CEYH . MAKPEINIANHC | MH]TPO . TAPCOY and in the field [A .] M . K . The cultus image standing on the omphalos, head to left.

Berlin. *Zeitschr. für Num.* viii. p. 10, Pl. II. 6.

32. Æ 29.—AVT . KA . M . AVP . ANTΩNEINOC. Bust of Elagabalus, laureate, to right with cuirass and drapery.

Rev. TAPCOV | MHTPO. The cultus image on the omphalos to front; in the field two stars.

Library of Bologna. **Pl. XIII. No. 4.**

Num. Chronicle, 1873, p. 35 (incorrect).

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[1] Cf. our illustrations and Overbeck, *Apollon*, p. 29, Pl. I. 30 and 31.

[2] Cf. Eckhel *Num. vet. anecdoti*, p. 80.

33. Æ 38.—Α . Κ . Μ . Α . CЄΟΥ . ΑΛЄΞΑΝΔΡΟC CЄΒ and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the Emperor to right, laureate, draped.

Rev. ΑΛЄΞΑΝΔΡΑΝ . C | ЄΟ . ΑΔ . ΜΗΤ . ΤΑΡCΟΥ . and in the field r. Α . Μ . Κ., l. Γ . Π Β .[1] The cultus image to front, head to left.

Rollin and Feuardent. **Pl. XIII. No. 5.**

Overbeck *loc. cit.* Coin-plate I. 31. Paris cf. Mionnet iii. 638, 496 and 497 (with 'deer.') Brit. Museum.

34. Æ 37.—ΑΥΤ . Κ . Γ . ΙΟΥ . ΟΥΗ . ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟC and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the Emperor to right, with radiate crown, draped.

Rev. ΤΑΡCΟΥ ΤΗC | ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛЄΩC and in the field l. Α . Μ . Κ., r. Γ . Β . The cultus image to front.

Vienna. Frölich, *Quatuor Tentamina*, p. 318; Cat. Mus. Caes., 129, 11; Mionnet, *Suppl.* vii. 276, 481, with 'dogs' or 'deer.'

35. Æ 37.—Similar.

Rev. Inscription the same. The cultus image on the omphalos to front, head l., in the r. hand a wolf, in the l. hand a bow.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 6.**

Cf. Mionnet, iii. 640, 509.

Brit. Museum, which also possesses the same type on a coin with Balbinus.

36. Æ 30.—ΑΝΝΙΑΝ ΑΙΤΡΟΥCΚΙΛΛΑΝ CЄ. Bust of Etruscilla to right, with crescent at shoulders.

Rev. ΤΑΡCΟΥ ΜΗ | ΤΡΟΠΟΛЄΩC and in field l. Α . Μ . Κ., r. Γ . Β . Cultus image on the omphalos, head to r.

Brit. Museum. Cf. Haym, *Thes. Brit.* ii. Pl. XLVII. 4, 'Artemis with two stags'; Mionnet, iii. 653, 595, 'with dogs.'

37. Æ 30.—ΑΥΤ . Κ . Π . Α . ΟΥΑΛЄΡΙΑΝΟΝ CЄ and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the Emperor to right, laureate and draped.

Rev. ΤΑΡCΟΥ ΜΗΤ | ΡΟΠΟΛЄΩC, in the field l. Α . Μ . Κ., r. Γ . Β . The cultus image on the omphalos turned slightly to left, head to right.

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[1] In the first word of the inscription either Ι has dropped out after Ρ or we should read Ἀλεξανδρ(ιανὴ) Ἀν(τωνειναὴ), as on a coin of the Brit. Museum with the same emperor and the type of Pallas. On contemporary coins the letter Π in the field of the rev. (elsewhere unusual) stands for *προκαθεζομένη*, v. Waddington, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vii. p. 285. Whether this initial has the same significance here is uncertain, because the letters Γ . ЄΠ (*αρχιῶν*) are absent.

Vienna. Mus. Theup. p. 1081/2; Mionnet *Suppl.* vii. 287, 531; the animals are called dogs or deer.

Cat. Greppo, No. 1106, described as nude Hekate with dogs.

3. *The Emperor sacrificing before the cultus image.*

38. Æ 34.—AVT. KAI. M. AVP. CEVHPOC ANTΩNEINOC and in the field Π. | Π. Bust of Caracalla to right, laureate and draped.

Rev. ANTΩNEINIANHC CEVHP. AΔPI. TAPCOV and in the field A. M. K. The cultus image standing to front on the omphalos between bulls' heads, with the two wolves; beside it the Emperor in toga, standing to left before a flaming altar, holding a patera in his right hand.

Paris. Mionnet, iii. 632, 465. **Pl. XIII. No. 7.**

Cf. De Witte, Cat. Greppo, p. 151, No. 1106, 'Apollo with antelopes.'

4. *Other scenes of sacrifice before the cultus image.*

See below, Perseus, No. 45–47.

5. *The cultus image as attribute of Perseus.*

See below, Perseus No. 41 and 42, No. 48 and 49.

II.—Perseus.

1. *Perseus with harpe.*

39. Æ 26.—*Obv.* Hadrian.

Rev. TAPCEΩN MHTPOΠOΛEΩC. Perseus, nude, with winged sandals, stands to left, the harpe and drapery in his left hand; he holds out his right hand to Apollo, who is nude and standing to right with crossed legs, leaning on the tripod. A laurel-branch is in Apollo's left hand, and between the legs of the tripod rears a snake.

Gr. 9. 68.

The Hague. Imhoof, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* iii. p. 333, 1, Pl. IX. 3; Overbeck *loc. cit. Apollon;* Coin-plate V. 16.

2. *Perseus with harpe and Gorgoneion.*

40. Æ 35.—AVT. KAIC. Δ. KAIA. BAABEINOC CEB. and in the field Π. | Π. Bust of the emperor laureate to right with cloak.

Rev. ΤΑΡCΟΥ Μ|ΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC and in the field l. Α . Κ ., r. Μ . Β . Γ . Perseus as on No. 39 except that he holds the winged Gorgoneion in his lowered right hand.

Cat. Gréau, No. 1953. Sabatier, *Revue Num. Belge* 1865, Pl. XVIII. 25.

Similar with Maximinus, Mionnet iii. 640, 510, and with Gordian, Mionnet iii. 644, 534.

3. *Perseus with harpe and Cultus-image of Apollo.*

41. Æ 27.—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗC ΤΑΡCΕΩΝ. Head of the bearded Herakles crowned with oak-leaves to right; club behind the shoulder.

Rev. ΜΗ|ΤΡ l., ΟΠΟΛΕΩC r. Perseus, nude, with winged sandals, standing to left, harpe and drapery in his left hand, and on his outstretched right hand the cultus image of Apollo (with the two wolves) standing to front on the omphalos. In the field l. ΒΟΗ|ΘΟΥ, and below, at the feet of the hero, a bull to left attacked by a lion from the side.

Gr. 19. 52.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 8.**

Löbbecke.

Cf. Mionnet iii. 623, 417; Leake *As. Gr.* 129, 1; Inv. Waddington No. 4625–7 Pl. XII. 6, the animal group not described.

42. Æ 29.—Similar, with ΑΔΡΙΑ|ΝΗC ΤΑΡCΕΩΝ and ΜΗ|ΤΡΟ|ΠΟΛΕΩC.

Gr. 11. 65.

My collection.

Brit. Mus. T. Combe Pl. X. 18 = Mionnet *Suppl.* vii. 259, 405.

The attribute in the right hand of the Perseus and the animal group at his feet seem hitherto to have escaped notice on all known coins of this type.[1] The representation of the fight of the lion and bull is identical with that on the silver coins of Hadrian;[2] on later coins the bull appears seized from behind.[3] The fight is certainly meant to be symbolical, and must be brought into connection with Perseus as Helper (*βοηθός*).

43. Æ 36.—[ΑVΤ .] Κ . Μ . ΑΝΤ . ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CЄΒ . and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the Emperor to right, with radiate crown, shield and spear.

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[1] Cf. *Monatsblatt d. num. Gesellsch.* Wien, 1896, No. 156, p. 379/80, Inv. Waddington, No. 4625, where the cultus-image is recognised.

[2] Mionnet *Suppl.* vii. Pl. VII. 4; de Luynes *Num. des Satrapies*, Pl. VII. 7; and here **Pl. xiii, No. 9** (Gr. 10. 65, my collection).

[3] Examples with Gordian, Mionnet III. 645, 543–47; with Decius, Mionnet III. 652, 590–1, *Rev. num.* 1854, Pl. VIII. 50.

Rev. ΤΑΡCOV ΜΗΤ|ΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC and in the field l. Μ . Α . | Κ., r. Β . | Γ . Perseus with the cultus image as on No 41; in addition to the harpe he holds a fishing basket in his left hand.

Berlin. **Pl. XIII. No. 10.**

44. Æ 35.—ΑV ΚΑΙ . Γ . ΟVΙΒΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΒΩ . ΓΑΛΛΟΝ and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of Gallus to right, with radiate crown, cuirass and cloak.

Rev. ΤΑΡCOV ΜΗ|ΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC and in the field l. Α . Μ . Κ., r. Β . Γ . Perseus with the cultus image as on No. 41.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 11.**

Paris. Mionnet *Suppl.* vii. 286, 528 (and 529 after Sestini) where the cultus-image is described as 'two small figures on a prow' or as 'bow inverted' and the drapery is mistaken for a Gorgoneion.

4. *Perseus sacrificing before the Cultus image.*

45. Æ 38.—ΑVΤ . ΚΑΙ . Λ . CЄΠ . CЄVΗΡΟC ΠЄΡ . and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the Emperor, laureate, to right, with cuirass.

Rev. ΑΔΡΙ . CЄVΗΡΙΑΝΗC ΤΑΡCΟV ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ[ЄωC] and in the field above . Γ . Β . The cultus image of Apollo with the wolves stands to front on a column on the omphalos between recumbent bulls. To the right of the image is a flaming altar, in front of which stands Perseus to left, with curly hair, drapery round the hips and left arm, patera in his right hand and harpe in his left.

Waddington. **Pl. XIII. No. 12.**

Cf. Inv. Waddington No. 4638, where Perseus is wrongly described as an emperor.

46. Æ 40.—ΑVΤ . Κ . ΑΝΤ . ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CЄΒΑ . and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the emperor to right, with radiate crown, cuirass and cloak.

Rev. ΤΑΡCO|V ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛЄΩC and in the field, Α . Μ . Κ . Β . r., Γ . l. An altar with a zebu-ox lying to left in front of it. Behind the altar are visible the upper parts of two draped figures with heads to right, between whom towers a high column bearing the cultus image of Apollo and the wolves. At the right side of the altar stands Perseus to left, wearing drapery on his hips and arm, and winged sandals on his feet, and holding in the left hand harpe and in the right patera. At the left side of the altar stands the goddess of the city to right, in a long robe and wearing a turreted crown (?); both her arms are raised to the cultus image.

Milan, Brera, *Mus. Sanclementi* III. p. 85, Pl. XXXII. 337.

Pl. XIII. No. 13.

Num. Chron. 1873, 36, cf. Inv. Waddington, No. 4673, Pl. XII. 13.

Variants of this representation (up till now unpublished) may be seen in Inv. Waddington, No. 4655, with the head of Sev. Alexander, and in the following example.

47. Æ 33.—AV . KЄ . Γ . MЄC . KOV. ΔЄKIOC TPAIANOC ЄV . ЄVCЄB . and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of Decius to right, with radiate crown, cuirass and cloak.

Rev. TAPCOY MHTPOΠOΛЄΩC and in the field r. A . M . K ., in the exergue Γ . B . An altar with a zebu-ox lying to left in front of it; on the left, beside it, a high column supporting the cultus image of Apollo. Behind the altar is a standing figure, the head to left; the right hand rests on a spear and there seems to be a shield on the left arm. To the right of the altar stands Perseus to the left, nude, holding in the left hand a harpe and drapery and in the right a patera. To the left of the column Tyche with turreted crown stands to right with both arms raised.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 14.**

Cf. *Num. Chron.* 1873, 36, with a fanciful description of the scene.

The goddess of the city standing before a sanctuary in the attitude of prayer occurs again on a coin of Tyros.[1]

5. *Perseus and the Fisherman.*

48. Æ 38.—[AVT . K . M .] AVP . CEV . AΛЄIANΔP .... and in the field Π. | Π . Bust of the Emperor to right, laureate, draped.

Rev. AΛЄIANΔPIAN . A |N . AΔ (?) . . . . In the field above A . M . K ., at the sides Γ . | B . and in the middle ΠA | TPΩ | OC . Perseus, nude, with winged sandals, standing to right. His long cloak is fastened round his neck and hangs down behind, covering his back. In his right hand he holds the harpe, and in his left, which is raised, the cultus-image of Apollo and the wolves. Opposite the hero stands a bearded fisherman in a short chiton. The figure is turned slightly to right and the head to left. A fishing rod is in his outstretched hands, with a fishing basket hanging at the upper end and a large fish at the lower.

Coll. Waddington. **Pl. XIII. No. 15.**

Cf. Inv. Waddington, No. 4654, Pl. XII. 10.

49. Æ 37.—AVT . K . ANT . ΓORΔIANOC CЄB . and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the Emperor to right, with radiate crown, cuirass and cloak.

[1] Imhoof, *Antike Münzbilder* in the *Jahrb. d. archäol. Inst.* iii. (1888), p. 286, (Pl. 9, 4).

Rev. TAPCOV | M | H l., TPOΠOΛEΩC r., and in the field, in the middle, A . M . K ., l. B . and r. Γ . Similar group, only the fisherman standing to left is beardless and of relatively smaller stature than Perseus. The little cultus image has no distinguishable attribute.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 16.**

Brit. Museum, with BΓ on left and the small cultus image with distinct wolves.

Paris. Mionnet III. 647, 561, described as with two fish; cf. Mionnet Suppl. VII. 283, 512 (after Vaillant) and 513 from a bad illustration in Gessner, *Imp*p. CLXXIII. 24, and p. 730, 206 bis; Leake, *As. Gr.* 130, 1.

50. Æ 36.—AV . KAI . Γ . MEC . KVIN . ΔEKIOC TPAIANOC and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of Decius with radiate crown cuirass and cloak to right.

Rev. TAP | COV MHTPOΠOΛEΩC, in the field above A . M . K . and in the exergue Γ . B . Perseus nude, with winged sandals, standing to left, in an attitude of surprise, raising his right hand to his mouth, and holding in his left harpe and drapery. Opposite the hero stands a bearded fisherman to right, in short chiton and boots. He holds in his left hand, over his shoulder, a fishing-rod and basket, and in his right a large fish.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 17.**

Cf. Mionnet III. 652, 587 and Leake *Suppl.* 100; both call the object in Perseus' right hand a gorgoneion. Cf. also Sabatier in *Rev. Num. Belge.* 1860, Pl. V. 5, where the K in the field is mistaken for a small Nike, the fish for an altar, and the fisherman for the Emperor.

Cavedoni's view is that the type of the coins No. 48-50 represents a meeting of Perseus and the fisherman Diktys, who drew Danaë and her son from the sea with his net, and was afterwards made king of Seriphos.[1] It is, however, obviously much more likely that the scene represented is some local legend of Tarsos, but as this legend has not been otherwise handed down, attempts at explanation of the types would be useless. It is worthy of notice that the figure of Perseus on No. 50 seems to express by his attitude surprise at the offering of the fish, and that in No. 43 he has taken over the fisherman's basket as an attribute.

The Kronos type on coins of Tarsos, of which the following piece is an example, is easy to distinguish from Perseus.

51. Æ 33.—AV . KAI . Π . AI . OVAAEPIANON CE . Bust of the Emperor to right, with radiate crown, cuirass, and cloak.

Rev. TAPCO | V MHTPOΠOΛEΩ | C, in the field l. A . M . K ., r. Γ . B . Kronos bearded, walking to left. His r. breast and arm

[1] *Spicilegio. num.* p. 211.

are bare, and on his head (which is turned to right) is a small crown with three peaks. His robe is drawn over the back of his head, in his outstretched right hand he holds the harpe, and on the left hand is an imperfectly defined object.

Mus. Athen. No. 5800. **Pl. XIII. No. 18.**

Cf. Roscher's *Lexikon* ii. p. 1558, Fig. 8 where the drapery and crown on the head of Kronos have passed unnoticed.

The worship of Kronos in Kilikia is proved by Stephanus Byz. s.v. Ἄδανα, and by coins of Mallos and Flaviopolis.[1]

52. Æ 33.—ΑV . ΚΑΙ . ΠΟV . ΛΙ . ΟVΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC CЄ and in the field Π . | Π . Bust of the emperor to right, with radiate crown, cuirass, and cloak.

Rev. ΤΑΡCΟ|V ΜΗΤ|ΡΟΠΟΛ and in the exergue ЄΩC . Α . Μ . Κ . Γ . Γ . Three nude beardless male figures standing side by side to front. The two to the left have the head to right, the one to the right has the head to left. Each figure with one hand places a crown (turreted crown ?) on his head. The middle figure holds in the left hand a palm-branch which rests on his shoulder, the two others also hold each a palm branch in the lowered hand.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 19.**

Cf. Mionnet iii. 655, 611 and *Suppl.* vii. 289, 543 = Sestini, *Mus. Hed.* ii. 299, 44; Cat. Moustier, No. 3163.

The attitude of the three men is identical with that of the victors in festival games. As other coins of the time of Valerian show three prize vases with the inscriptions ΚΟΡΑΙΑ, ΑVΓΟVCΤΙΑ and ΑΚΤΙΑ,[2] it is likely that the three figures represent the three victors in the games.

53. Æ 33.—From the same die as the preceding.

Rev. ΤΑΡCΟV Μ|ΗΤΡΟΠΟΛЄΩC, in the field l. Α . Μ . Κ., r. Γ . Γ . Amphilochos, in a short tunic and boots, standing to left, a branch in the right hand, and in the left a sceptre and cloak. In front of him a boar walking to l.

Löbbecke. **Pl. XIII. No. 20.**

The explanation of this type is to be found in representations of the seer Amphilochos on coins of Mallos.[3]

54. Æ 31.—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ ΚΟΜ|ΟΔΙΑΝΗ ΤΑΡCΟC Η ΜΗΤΡΟΠ|ΟΛΙC. The Tyche of Tarsos seated to left with turreted crown and veil. In her right hand are two ears of corn

[1] Imhoof in Roscher's *Lexikon*, ii. 1572—1573.

[2] Mionnet, iii. 656, 615 and *Suppl.* vii. 290, 545 & 546; Pellerin, *Recueil*, iii. p. 260 (illustr.).

[3] Imhoof, *Mallos* (*Annuaire de la Soc. fr. de Num.*, 1883) p. 118, 59; 119, 62 & 63, Pl. vi. 38 & 43, and in the present article above, No. 6*b*.

and a poppy head; her left hand rests on the seat, which is adorned with a griffin standing to left. At the feet of the goddess is the upper part of a figure (the river Kydnos) swimming to left, and turning his head, which is wreathed with sedge, towards Tyche.

Rev. ΚΟΙΝΟϹ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑϹ ΤΑΡϹΟΥ ΔΙϹ ΝΕΩΚΟ|ΡΟΥ. A wreath or bandeau with hanging fillets, and set round the outside with eight heads. Of these three male and one female are turned to left while two male and two female are turned to right. The male heads are apparently all bearded and without crowns.

Gr. 14. 80.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 21.**

This example (similar to Mionnet *Suppl.* vii. 257, 394 = Babelon *Annuaire de Num.* vii. 1883, p. 24, Pl. II. 5, where Tyche is called Kybele and the eight heads are conjectured to be those of divinities, perhaps goddesses of the cities belonging to the *κοινόν*) was first made known by Sabatier in the *Revue Num. Belge* 1860, Pl. V. 4 (=Cat. Gréau, No. 1945), and this notice was plagiarized by Boutkowski in his *Dictionnaire Num.* i. p. 1487, No. 2484. Sabatier in his illustration represented the male heads as laureate, and called them (counting from left to right) Sabina, Hadrian, Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus, Faustina and Crispina. Cohen (on the other hand), in the Cat. Gréau, supposed them to be Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus, Severus (with radiate crown), Faustina, Crispina and Domna. The new phototype shews that the bearded heads are not crowned. The coiffure of the female heads is that which is known from portraits of the younger Faustina, Lucilla and Crispina. The series as a whole gives the impression of being intended for portraits of the Antonine family. Though the size is too small to admit the possibility of a real likeness, yet certain individual characteristics can be traced.

Another coin of Tarsos with the wreath, of which a good example is preserved, makes it evident that the heads represent neither goddesses of the city nor other divinities.[1]

55. Æ 32.—ΑVΤ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑVΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟϹ. Bust of Elagabalus, laureate, to right, with cuirass and cloak.

Rev. ΤΑΡϹΟV ΤΗϹ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩϹ. and in the exergue Α. Μ. Κ. An altar wreathed; over it a large wreath; to the right beside it a bandeau with fillets thus adorned: l. two boys' heads to right; then Γ, female (?) bust to left, beardless head laureate to left and similar head laureate to right; then Β, and two male busts draped, to right, in all seven heads.

My collection. **Pl. XIII. No. 22.**

Cf. Mionnet iii. 637, 491 with nine heads; 492 with two bandeaux, each with six or seven heads; *Suppl.* vii. 274, 468, with seven heads;

[1] See Waddington *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vii. 1883, p. 286–7.

Inv. Waddington No. 4646 Pl. XII. 9 with six heads. Cf. also the coins with Maximus and six heads, Inv. Waddington No. 4661, Pl. XII. 11; with Gordian and two circles, each with seven heads, Mionnet iii. 646, 548 (Pellerin *Mél.* ii. Pl. XXXI. 5), Inv. Waddington No. 4668 and many others.

The head in the middle of No. 55 may possibly be meant for Elagabalus; for the others no names can be conjectured.

On a coin of the time of Volusianus letters stand above and between the eight small busts of the bandeau;[1] but they do not help to interpret the heads as they seem to be the usual series of initials Α . Μ . Κ . Γ . Β . Γ . Ε . (the two last possibly standing for *γ' ἐπαρχιῶν*) and partially to repeat the inner inscription of the bandeau.

F. Imhoof-Blumer.

Winterthur, May, 1898.

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[1] Imhoof in *Zeitschr. f. Num.* iii. 342, 23.

THE ARABS IN ASIA MINOR (641—750), FROM ARABIC SOURCES.

CONSIDERING the attention now paid to the geography ot Asia Minor, it has struck me that a collection of the notices relating to the Arabic invasions of that district, which are scattered here and there in the Arabic annalists and must be sought through thousands of pages of Arabic print, would serve a very useful purpose. These extracts not only throw light on geography and the Arabic nomenclature of the localities, but, when compared with the accounts of the same events in Greek and Syriac writers, are of great value for the study of chronology.

The writers from whom extracts are given under years are the following :—

(1) The chronicler known as Ibn Wadhich or Al Ya'kubi, who wrote about 900. (ed. Houtsma. Leiden, 1883).

(2) Al Tabari d. 923. (ed. Barth and others. Leiden, 1879, &c.).

(3) The Khitab Al 'Uyun (Book of Springs).[1] (ed. de Goeje. Leiden, 1871). This work, though dating not earlier than the middle of the 11th century, preserves several valuable notices relating to this period.

(4) Ibn Al Athir (d. 1232). (ed. Tornberg. Leiden, 1851, &c.). This author generally copies Al Tabari, but occasionally has notices not found in that writer, and is useful for the period before AH 40, for which Al Tabari's text is not extant.

Much valuable information is also to be found in the work of Al Baladhuri (d. 893) (ed. de Goeje. Leiden, 1863), who gives a connected narrative of the conquest of each district; but, since his work is not arranged in annalistic form, I have not given the extracts from it with those of the other writers, but separately at the end. Notices derived from the same source as those of the Mohammedan writers are also to be found in the bilingual chronicle of Elijah of Nisibis (written 1019), most of these being quoted from the work of Mahomet the Khawarizmi (circ. 835);[2] but, since this portion of Elijah's chronicle has been translated into German by Dr. Baethgen (Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes Bd. 8), there is no need to repeat the notices here, but it will be sufficient to give references to them in the margin. The authority most frequently quoted by the Arabic writers is Al Wakidi (d. 823). Most of the notices are merely annalistic entries; but sometimes, especially in Al Baladhuri, longer accounts are given. These I have

[1] The extant portion of this work begins with the accession of Al Walid I. (705).

[2] A few are also quoted from the Chronicle of the Arab Kings, a work of the 10th century.

been obliged from considerations of space to shorten; but, however important for Arabic life and character the omitted passages may be, nothing essential to the purposes of this article is lost by their suppression. Only the long and interesting narrative of the expedition of 716—718 in the Khitab Al ʿUyun I have been obliged to pass over altogether.

In the margin of the annalistic notices I have given references to notices of the same events in other writers (not necessarily derived from the same source), including, besides Elijah of Nisibis, in Greek Theophanes and Nikephoros, and in Syriac Michael the Syrian,[1] the chronicle of 775 falsely attributed to Dionysios,[2] and the Chronicle of 846 (*Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.* vol. 51, p. 569). In the extracts from Al Baladhuri, to avoid repetition, I have generally referred only to the preceding annalistic extracts. To avoid possibility of misleading, I have given all geographical names in the first instance in the Arabic form, placing the usually received names in brackets following, wherever they can be identified. I have added a few notices relating to Armenia and Syria, which are so closely connected with those referring to Asia Minor that it appears unreasonable to omit them.

Caliphate of ʿUmar I.

A. H. 20 (Dec. 21, 640–Dec. 9, 641).

Ibn Al Athir. And in this year, I mean the year 20, Abu Bachriyya ʿAbd Allah, the son of Kais, made a raid into the land of the Romans; and he was the first who entered it, as it is said (and it is also said that the first who entered it was Maisra, the son of Masruk, the ʿAbsi), and he carried off prisoners and spoil.

Caliphate of ʿUthman.

25 (Oct. 28, 645–Oct. 16, 646).

Ibn Al Athir. And in this year Muʿawiya made a raid upon Roman territory and reached ʿAmmuriya (Amorion); and he found the fortresses between Antakhiya (Antioch) and Tarsus deserted, and he stationed in them a large number of the men of Al Sham (Syria) and Al Gazira (Mesopotamia), until he returned from his raid. Then after that he sent Yazid, the son of Al Chur, the ʿAbsi, upon a raid in the summer; and he gave him orders, and he acted accordingly; and, when he went out, he destroyed the fortresses as far as Antakhiya.[3]

28 (Sept. 25, 648–Sept. 13, 649).

Ibn Al Athir. And in this year Chabib, the son of Maslama, made a raid upon Suriya,[4] in the land of the Romans.

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[1] In the Arabic version in the British Museum MS. Or. 4402.

[2] Published, with translation, by the Abbé Chabot (Paris, 1895).

[3] This seems to show that Antioch in Pisidia is here meant, though the previous mention of the name rather points to the Syrian city.

[4] *i.e.*, Syria: the name seems to be used by the Arabs to denote Euphratesia and Cilicia. But perhaps we should read Sauriya (Isauria): cf. p. 194, note 3.

32 (Aug. 12, 652–Aug. 1, 653).

Sebeos 3, 36 Ibn Al Athir. It is said that in this year Mu'awiya, the son of Abu Sufyan, made a raid upon the straits of Al Kustantiniyya (Constantinople);[1] and with him was his wife 'Atkha, the daughter of Karaza; and it is said also that his sister was with him.

33 (Aug. 2, 653–July 21, 654).

Ibn Al Athir. In this year was the raid of Mu'awiya upon the fortress of Al Mara, in the land of the Romans, in the neighbourhood of Malatya (Melitene).

Caliphate of Mu'awiya.

41 (May 7, 661–Apr. 25, 662).

Ibn Wadh.. He sent Chabib, the son of Maslama; and the Roman commander made peace, and did not care to engage with him.

42 (Apr. 26, 662–Apr. 14, 663).

Theoph. AM 6154 Al Tab.. And in this year the Moslems made a raid upon the Romans and inflicted a severe defeat upon them, as men record, and killed many of their patricians.

43 (Apr. 15, 663–Apr. 3, 664).

El. Nis. 43. Theoph. AM 6157 Ibn Wadh.. Busr, the son of Abu Arta, made a raid into the land of the Romans, and wintered there.

Al Tab. adds: Until he reached Al Kustantiniyya, as Al Wakidi asserts; and some of the authorities deny this, and say that Busr did not winter in Roman territory at all.

44 (Apr. 4, 664–Mar. 23, 665).

El. Nis. 44. Theoph. AM 6156(?) Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid made a raid until he reached Akluniya (Koloneia).

Al Tab.. Among the events of this year was the invasion of the Roman territory by the Moslems under 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid,[2] the son of Al Walid, who wintered there,[3] and the sea expedition of Busr, the son of Abu Arta.

45 (Mar. 24, 665–Mar. 12, 666).

Theoph. AM 6156(?) Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid, made a raid and wintered in the land of the Romans, and reached Antakhiya (Antioch in Pisidia).

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[1] This expedition is elsewhere recorded only by the Armenian Sebeos, who makes Mu'awiya march to Chalkedon in the 13th of Constantine (653-4).

[2] 'Son of Khalid' has dropped out of Al Tab.'s text, and I insert it from Ibn Al Athir.

[3] The Syriac fragments published by Dr. Nöldeke (*Z.D.M.G.* 29, p. 76ff.) agree in the date, giving A.S. 975 (Oct. 1, 663—Sept. 30, 664).

Al Tab.. And in this year was the wintering of 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid, in the land of the Romans.

46 (Mar. 13, 666–Mar. 2, 667).

Ibn Wadh.. Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami made a raid; and it is said that it was Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni; and he wintered in the land of the Romans.

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the wintering of Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah,[1] in the land of the Romans; and it is said also El. Nis. 46 that this was 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid; and it is said also that it was Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni.[2] And in this year 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid, returned from the land of the Romans to Chims (Emesa); and Ibn Uthal the Ansari gave him a poisoned drink, as it is said, and he drank it, and it killed him.

47 (Mar. 3, 667–Feb. 19, 668).

Ibn Wadh.. Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni, made a raid and El. Nis. 47 wintered in the land of the Romans.

Al Tab.. And in this year was the wintering of Malikh, the son of Hubaira, in the land of the Romans, and the wintering of Abu 'Abd Al Rachman the Kaini at Antakhiya.

48 (Feb. 20, 668–Feb. 8, 669).

Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Al Rachman the 'Atbi made a raid and reached Antakhiya the black.[3]

Al Tab.. And in it was the wintering of Abu 'Abd Al Rachman the Kaini at Antakhiya, and the summer expedition of 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, the Fizari, and the raid of Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni, by sea, and the raid of 'Ukba, the son of 'Amir, the Guhani, by sea, with the men of Misr (Egypt) and the men of Al Madina; and over the men of Al Madina was Al Mundhir, the son of Zuhair, and over their combined forces was Khalid, the son of[4] 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid.

49 (Feb. 9, 669–Jan. 28, 670).

Ibn Wadh.. Fudhala, the son of 'Ubaid, made a raid; and by his hands God made captives and carried off many prisoners.

Al Tab.. And in this year was the wintering of Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni, in the land of the Romans. And in it was the raid of El. Nis. 49 Theoph. AM 6159(?) Fudhala, the son of 'Ubaid, upon Garabba; and he wintered at Garabba, and

[1] Text 'Ubaid Allah': we may correct from Ibn Al Athir and Ibn Wadh..

[2] MSS. 'Fizari': we may correct from Ibn Al Athir and Ibn Wadh..

[3] I do not know any other authority for this epithet; if it is meant to distinguish this Antioch from that mentioned above, Antioch in Isauria is perhaps intended.

[4] The words 'Khalid, the son of,' are not in the MSS., but are supplied by conjecture in Thorbecke's text. Otherwise we should have a glaring contradiction to the statement of Al Tab. sub ann. 46.

it was captured by his hands, and he made many prisoners in it. And in it was the summer campaign of 'Abd Allah, the son of Khurz, the Bagli. And in it was the raid of Yazid, the son of Shagara, the Rahawi, by sea; and he wintered at the head of the men of Al Sham. And in it was the raid of 'Ukba, the son of Nafi', by sea; and he wintered at the head of the men of Misr. And in it was the raid of Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, into Roman territory, till he reached Kustantiniyya; and with him were Ibn 'Abbas, and Ibn 'Umar, and Ibn Al Zubair, and Abu Ayyub the Ansari.

El. Nis. 51
Theoph. AM 6159

Instead of the last sentence Ibn Al Athir has: In this year (and the year 50 is also mentioned) Mu'awiya sent a powerful force upon a raid into the territory of the Romans; and he appointed Sufyan the son of 'Auf to the command, and ordered his son Yazid to join the raid; and he was disinclined to do so and made excuses, and his father abstained from pressing him. And during their raid the men were attacked by famine and grievous disease. . . .[1] And, when Mu'awiya heard of his verses, he enjoined him to join Sufyan in the land of the Romans, in order that whatever befell the men might befall him. And he went, and with him was a large body of men, whom his father sent with him; and in this force were Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn 'Umar and Ibn Al Zubair and Abu Ayyub the Ansari and others, and 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Ruzara, the Khilabi. And they advanced into the territory of the Romans until they reached Al Kustantiniyya; and the Moslems and the Romans fought for some days, and the battle was severe between them. . . . Then Yazid and the army returned to Al Sham.[2]

50 (Jan. 29, 670–Jan. 17, 671).

Ibn Wadh.. Busr the son of Abu Arta made a raid; and Sufyan the son of 'Auf wintered.

Al Tab.. And in this year was the raid of Busr the son of Abu Arta and Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Azdi, into the land of the Romans. And it is said that in it was the raid of Fudhala, the son of 'Ubaid, the Ansari, by sea.

Theoph. AM 6162(?)

51 (Jan. 18, 671–Jan. 7, 672).

Ibn Wadh.. Mahomet the son of 'Abd Al Rachman made a raid; and Fudhala, the son of 'Ubaid, the Ansari, wintered.

Theoph. AM 6162

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year were the wintering of Fudhala the son of 'Ubaid in the land of the Romans, and the raid of Busr the son of Abu Arta in the summer.

El. Nis. 51
Theoph. AM 6163

52 (Jan. 8–Dec. 26, 672).

Ibn Wadh.. Sufyan the son of 'Auf made a raid; and he died and appointed 'Abd Allah, the son of Mas'ada, the Fizari, to take his place.

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[1] I omit personal anecdotes which have no bearing on the expedition.

[2] The Syriac chronicle published by Nöldeke (see p. 184, note 3) places the expedition of Yazid in A.S. 971 (660); but, as that was a time of peace, the date is clearly wrong.

Al Tab.. And Al Wakidi states that in this year was the raid of Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Azdi, and his wintering in the land of the Romans; and that he died during the year and appointed 'Abd Allah, the son of Mas'ada, the Fizari, to take his place. And other authorities say: No, the man who wintered in the land of the Romans this year at the head of the men was Busr the son of Abu Arta, and with him was Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Azdi. And in the summer of this year a raid was made by Mahomet, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Thakafi. El. Nis. 53 Theoph. AM 6165(?)[1] Theoph. AM 6164 Nikeph. p. 32

53 (Dec. 27, 672–Dec. 15, 673).

Ibn Wadh.. Mahomet, the son of Malikh, made a raid; and it is said that Tarsus was taken this year, its captor being Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, the Azdi.

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the wintering of 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Um Al Chakham, the Thakafi, in the land of the Romans. And in it Rudus (Rhodes), an island in the sea, was taken; and its captor was Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, the Azdi; and he settled the Moslems in it, as recorded by Mahomet the son of 'Umar[2]; and they sowed seed and acquired flocks and herds in it, which they pastured all round it; and, when men approached, they took them into the fortress; and they had watchmen who gave them warning of anyone upon the sea who wished to make war upon them, and they were on their guard against them. And they were the greatest annoyance to the Romans, and they attacked them on the sea and cut off their ships. And Mu'awiya supplied them plentifully with provisions and pay; and the enemy were afraid of them. And, when Mu'awiya was dead, Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, removed them. El. Nis. 54(?)

Ibn Al Athir adds: And it is said that it was taken in the year 60.

54 (Dec. 16, 673–Dec. 5, 674).

Al Tab.. And in this year was the wintering of Mahomet, the son of Malikh, in the land of the Romans, and the summer campaign of Ma'n, the son of Yazid, the Sulami. And in it, as Al Wakidi states, was the capture by Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, of an island in the sea near Kustantiniyya, called Arwad.[3] And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, records that the Moslems remained in it for a space, as he says, of seven years, and the commandant was Mugahid, the son of Gabr.

There follows in Al Tabari a long personal story, the substance of which is expressed by Ibn Al Athir in the sentence:

And, when Mu'awiya died, and his son Yazid succeeded to the government, he ordered them to return, and they returned.

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[1] Michael the Syrian records what seems to be the same expedition under the 2nd of Constantine=AS. 982 (Oct. 1, 670—Sept. 30, 671).

[2] *i.e.* Al Wakidi.

[3] This seems to be a mere duplicate of the occupation of Rhodes recorded under the previous year.

55 (Dec. 6, 674–Nov. 24, 675).

El. Nis. 56 Ibn Wadh.. Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid and wintered in the land of the Romans.

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the wintering of Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Azdi, in the land of the Romans, as Al Wakidi says;[1] and some of the authorities say; No, the man who wintered in the land of the Romans this year was 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, the Fizari; and some say; No, it was Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah.

El. Nis. 55
Theoph. AM 6166

56 (Nov. 25, 675–Nov. 13, 676).

El. Nis. 57 Ibn Wadh.. Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, made a raid and reached Al Kustantiniyya; and Mas'ud, the son of Abu Mas'ud, wintered; and the commander by land was Yazid, the son of Shagara, and by sea 'Iyadh, the son of Al Charith.[2] All these things are also said to have happened in the year 57.

Al Tab.. And in this year was the wintering of Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, in the land of the Romans; and it is said that it was 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Mas'ud; and it is said that this year Yazid, the son of Shagara, the Rahawi, made a raid by sea, and 'Iyadh, the son of Al Charith, by land.

El. Nis. 54(?)

57 (Nov. 14, 676–Nov. 2, 677).

Theoph. AM 6166(?) Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, made a raid.

Al Tab.. And this year was the wintering of 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, in the land of the Romans.

58 (Nov. 3, 677–Oct. 22, 678).

El. Nis. 56(?)
El. Nis. 58 Ibn Wadh.. Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid; and it is said that 'Amir, the son of Yazid, the Guhani, did so; and Yazid, the son of Shagara, was killed at sea.

Al Tab.. And this year Malikh, the son of Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid into the land of the Romans. And in this year Yazid, the son of Shagara, was killed[3] at sea on a ship, as Al Wakidi says. He says: And it is said that 'Amr, the son of Yazid, the Guhani, was[4] the man who wintered in the land of the Romans; and it is said that the man who made the raid by sea this year was Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya.

Ibn Al Athir. This year Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath-'ami, made a raid into the land of the Romans, and 'Amr, the son of Yazid, the Guhani, by sea; and it is said that it was Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya.

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[1] It is hard to reconcile this with the statement under A.H. 52 that Al Wakidi placed Sufyan's death in that year.

[2] MS. Al Charb. Al Charith is an obvious correction of Houtsma; cf. Al Tab.. The name 'Charb' does not take the article.

[3] According to Houtsma's text, 'It is said that Y., the son of S., (made a raid) by sea"; but by the change of a point ('kutila' for 'kila') we get the same as in Al Tab..

[4] I omit the copula before the verb with MS. C. The printed text must be rendered 'it was 'Amr . . . and he was the man who wintered.'

59 (Oct. 23, 678–Oct. 12, 679).

Ibn Wadh.. 'Amr, the son of Murra, the Guhani,[1] made a raid by land, and there was not that year any raid by sea. El. Nis. 58(?)

Al Tab.. And that year was the wintering of 'Amr, the son of Murra, the Guhani, in the land of the Romans on land. Al Wakidi says: There was not that year any raid by sea. And others say: Not so; Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, made a raid by sea. El. Nis. 59

60 (Oct. 13, 679–Sept. 30, 680).

Al Tab.. And this year was the raid of Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, upon Sauriyya (Isauria), and the entry of Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, into Rudus, and his building of the city there, as Al Wakidi says.[2]

Caliphate of Yazid I.

61 (Oct. 1, 690–Sept. 19, 681).

Ibn Wadh.. Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid in the summer; and this was a raid upon Sauriyya.[3]

Caliphate of 'Abd Al Malikh.

70 (June 25, 689–June 14, 690).

Al Tab.. And in this year the Romans rose up and assembled together against the Moslems in Al Sham; and 'Abd Al Malikh made peace with the king of the Romans on condition of paying him a thousand denarii every assembly-day,[4] fearing danger from him to the Moslems. Theoph. AM 6178 Mich. fol. 260r (without date) Chron. of 846 (without date)

75 (May 2, 694–Apr. 20, 695).

Ibn Wadh.. Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid in the summer; and the Romans came out against Al A'mak,[5] and they were slain by Aban, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Ukba, the son of Abu Mu'ait, and Dinar, the son of Dinar. Theoph. AM 6186 El. Nis. 75 Mich. AS 1006 Chron. of 846 AS 1006

Al Tab.. Among the events of this year was the raid of Mahomet, the son of Marwan, in the summer, when the Romans came out from before Mar'ash (Germanikeia).

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[1] There can be little doubt that this is the same as 'Amr, the son of Yazid, the Guhani. Under 58, where the Arabs have Ibn Yazid, El. Nis. has Ibn Murra.

[2] Al Tab. has probably confused Al Wakidi's date for the occupation with that for the evacuation; cf. ann. 53, 54.

[3] This must be thrown back to 679, since peace was made before Mu'awiya's death (Apr. 6, 680).

[4] *i.e.* Friday. Theoph. 'every day': so Michael.

[5] *i.e.* 'the valleys,' the name of a place between Germanikeia and Antioch. The MS. has Al A'man, but Houtsma's correction is no doubt right, and Al A'mak is the name given by Al Baladhuri (see p. 207); cf. also ann. 112. The Syriac writers call the place 'the valley of Antioch.'

76 (Apr. 21, 695–Apr. 9, 696).

Ibn Wadh.. Yachya, the son of Al Chakham, made a raid in the summer at Marg al Shacham between Malatya and Al Massisa (Mopsouestia).[1]

Theoph. AM 6187 Ibn Al Athir. And this year Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid upon the Romans in the region of Malatya.[2]

77 (Apr. 10, 696–Mar. 29, 697).

El. Nis. 77 Theoph. AM 6189 Ibn Wadh.. Al Walid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid upon Atmar; and his raid was in the region of Malatya. And Chassan, the son of Al Nu'man, made a raid by sea.[3]

Al Tab.. And this year Al Walid made a raid in the summer.

78 (Mar. 30, 697–Mar. 19, 698).

Al Tab.. And 'Abd Al Malikh sent Yachya, the son of Al Chakham, to make a raid this year.

El. Nis. 79. Theoph. AM 6192 Mich. fol. 261v (without date). 79 (Mar. 20, 698–Mar. 8, 699).

Al Tab.. And this year, as it is said, the Romans fell upon the men of Antakhiya. Ibn Al Athir adds: and defeated them.

80 (Mar. 9, 699–Feb. 25, 700).

Al Tab.. And 'Abd Al Malikh sent his son Al Walid upon a raid this year.

81 (Feb. 26, 700–Feb. 14, 701).

Al Tab.. I was informed by 'Umar, the son of Shabba; he said: I was told by 'Ali, the son of Mahomet;[4] he said: 'Abd Al Malikh sent his son 'Ubaid Allah[5] upon a raid in the year 81; and he took Kalikala (Theodosioupolis-Karin in Armenia).

82 (Feb. 15, 701–Feb. 3, 702).

Ibn Al Athir. And this year Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid upon Arminiya (Armenia) and routed them. Then they asked him for peace, and he granted it to them; and he appointed Abu Shaikh, the son of 'Abd Theoph. AM 6195(?) Allah, governor over them, and they acted treacherously towards him and killed him. And it is said also that they killed him in the year 83.

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[1] According to Yakut Marg Al Shacham was near Amorion. Similarly El. Nis. (ann. 23) makes Mu'awiya take Ankyra and advance to Marg Al Shacham.

[2] Armenia IV. according to Theoph..

[3] This is Houtsma's correction. The MS. has 'Al Bachr (=the sea) the son of Ch. the son of Al W. made a raid.' After this several lines are missing down to AH. 83.

[4] Better known as Al Madaini, a writer of the early part of the 9th century.

[5] We should probably read 'Abd Allah, since no such name as 'Ubaid Allah appears among the sons of 'Abd Al Malikh.

83 (Feb. 4, 702–Jan. 23, 703).

Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Allah also[1] made a raid and took Al Massisa, and built a small fortress in it.[2] El. Nis. 83, 84 Theoph. AM 6193 Mich. AS 1015, 1017 Chron. of 846 AS 1015

84 (Jan. 24, 703–Jan. 13, 704).

Al Tab.. And in this year was the raid of 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh the son of Marwan, into Roman territory; and in it he took Al Massisa. Such is the record of Al Wakidi.

85 (Jan. 14, 704–Jan. 1, 705).

Ibn Al Athir. And this year Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid into Arminiya and passed summer and winter in it. Theoph. AM 6195

Caliphate of Al Walid I.

86 (Jan. 2–Dec. 22, 705).

Ibn Wadh.. Maslama made a raid and took two fortresses. El. Nis. 86

Al Tab.. Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid into the land of the Romans.

87 (Dec. 23, 705–Dec. 11, 706).

Al Tab.. And in this year Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid into the land of the Romans; and with him was Yazid, the son of Gubair, and he met the Romans with a great force at Susana (Sision) in the neighbourhood of Al Massisa.[3] Al Wakidi says: This year Maslama met Maimun the Gurgani[4] (and with Maslama were about a thousand fighting men of the men of Antakhiya) at Tuwana (Tyana); and he killed many men among them, and God took the fortress by his hands[5] (and it is said that the man who made a raid upon the Romans in this year was Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh); and God took by his hands the fortress of Bulak and the fortress of Al Akhrim and the fortress of Bulas (Pylai?) and Kamkim; and he killed of the Musta'riba[6] about a thousand fighting men, and carried their children and their women into captivity. Theoph. AM 6196 Theoph. AM 6201

[1] This word seems to show that Ibn Wadh. recorded an expedition by 'Abd Allah in the previous year.

[2] Theoph. and the *Chronicle* of 846 mention the building only. El. Nis. and Mich. record the capture and the building under separate years.

[3] Al Tab. omits to mention the result of the meeting, which according to Theoph. was a great defeat of the Arabs. A comparison with Theoph. makes it probable that the subject of the last clause is not Maslama but Yazid ('Αζιδος ὁ τοῦ Χουνεί).

[4] This means Hyrcanian; but we should no doubt read 'Gurgunami,' the Arabic name for the Mardaites, which is the title applied to Maimun by Al Baladhuri (see p. 203).

[5] This seems to be an anticipatory statement, since Al Tab. afterwards records the capture under 88, to which year it is also assigned by Ibn Kutaiba, the earliest extant Arabic historian (*d.* 884).

[6] Arabs not of pure birth.

88 (Dec. 12, 706–Nov. 30, 707).

Ibn Wadh.. Maslama and Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid and took Suriya (Isaura ?), and Al 'Abbas took Ardaluniya.[1]

Theoph. AM 6201 Nikeph. pp. 43, 44 Mich. AS 1019

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was God's capture by the hands of the Moslems of one of the Roman fortresses called Tuwana in Gumada II. (May 9–June 6),[2] and they wintered at it; and over the army were Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, and Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh. And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, Al Wakidi, records that Thur, the son of Yazid, told him on the authority of his masters: he said: The capture of Tuwana was effected by the hands of Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, and Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid; and the Moslems routed the enemy that day, so that they went to their church; then they returned, and the men[3] were routed until they thought they should never recover from it. And Al 'Abbas remained, and some men with him, among whom was Ibn Muchairiz, the Gumachi; and Al 'Abbas said to Ibn Muchairiz, "Where are the men of the Kuran who are seeking Paradise?" And Ibn Muchairiz said, "Call to them to come to you." And Al 'Abbas called out, "Ye men of the Kuran!" And they came all together; and God routed the enemy, until they entered Tuwana.

And in it Maslama also made a raid into Roman territory, and by his hands three fortresses were taken, the fortress of Kustantin and Ghazala (Gazelon) and the fortress of Al Akhrim, and he killed of the Musta'riba about 1,000 men, besides carrying their children into captivity and taking possession of their property.[4]

Khitab al 'Uyun. And in the year 88 Maslama and Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid upon Tuwana and wintered at it. And the Romans assembled against them; and they met, and God Most High routed the Romans, and 50,000 of them were killed. And God Most High took Tuwana and another fortress near it with prisoners and spoil.

89 (Dec. 1, 707–Nov. 19, 708).

Al Tab.. The Moslems in this year took the fortress of Suriya; and over the army was Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh. Al Wakidi states that

El. Nis. 89

Maslama made a raid into the land of the Romans this year, and with him was Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid; and they entered it together; then they

Theoph. AM 6202(?)

separated, and Maslama took the fortress of Suriya, and Al 'Abbas took Adhruliyya; and he encountered a force of Romans and routed them. And others besides Al Wakidi say: Maslama went to 'Ammuriya (Amorion) and encountered the Romans there, a large force, and God routed them: and he

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[1] This is the MS. reading. Houtsma would read Adruliya; cf. Al Tab. ann. 89.

[2] MS. B adds 'the first of it' (May 9), while Ibn Al Athir has Gumada I. (Apr. 9—May 8). Mich. places the capture in Mar. 708, after a siege of nine months.

[3] Ibn Al Athir 'the Moslems.'

[4] The last clause is clearly a duplicate of the notice under the preceding year.

took Hirakla (Herakleia) and Kamudiya (Nikomedeia ?),[1] and Al 'Abbas made a summer campaign in the neighbourhood of Al Budandun (Podandos).

90 (Nov. 20, 708–Nov. 8, 709).

Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Al Walid, made a raid and took a fortress. El. Nis. 90

Al Tab.. And in this year Maslama made a raid into the land of the Romans, as Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, records, in the neighbourhood of Suriya, and took the five fortresses in Suriya. And in it Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid, some say, till he reached Al Arzan,[2] and others say, till he reached Suriya. And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, says: the account which says 'till he reached Suriya' is right. Theoph. AM 6202(?)

91 (Nov. 9, 709–Oct. 28, 710).

Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Al Walid, made a raid.

Al Tab.. And in this year, as Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, and others record, 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Al Walid, made a raid in the summer; and over the army was Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh.

92 (Oct. 29, 710–Oct. 18, 711).

Ibn Wadh.. Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid.

Al Tab.. Among the events of the year was the raid of Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, and 'Umar, the son of Al Walid, into the land of the Romans; and three fortresses were taken by the hands of Maslama; and the people of Susana migrated into the interior of the land of the Romans.

93 (Oct. 19 711–Oct. 6, 712).

Ibn Wadh.. Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, and Marwan, the son of Al Walid, and Maslama made a raid and took Amasiya (Amaseia) and the fortress of Al Chadid. El. Nis. 92 Theoph. AM 6204 Mich. AS 1023

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year were the raid of Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, into the land of the Romans, and God's capture of Sabastiyya (Sebasteia)[3] by his hands. And in it was also the raid of Marwan, the son of Al Walid, into the land of the Romans; and he reached Khangara.[4] And in it was the raid of Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, into the land of the Romans; and he took Masa (Amaseia) and the fortress Chron. of 846 AS 1021

[1] vvll. Kuliya and Kamuliyah. Kamouliana in Cappadocia I. may be meant. Ibn Al Athir has 'Kamuniya.' The mention of Herakleia (Pontou ?) points to Nikomedeia, but it is strange that its capture should not be recorded by the Greek writers.

[2] Arzan should be Arzanene or its chief town, but this is clearly out of place here.

[3] The MSS. have Samastiyya: I emend from Ibn Al Athir, who adds 'and Al Marzbanain and Tus' (cf. ann. 95). It is possible, however, that Mistheia is meant (cf. Theoph. A.M. 6204; Nikeph. p. 48; Chron. of 846 A. S. 1021).

[4] vl. Gangra. Mich. records the capture of 'Gargarun' in A.S. 1022. On the other hand, Yakut mentions Khangara, 'a district in the territory of the Romans.' Cf. also ann. 109.

of Al Chadid and Ghazala and Tarchamah[1] in the neighbourhood of Malatya.

94 (Oct. 7, 712–Sept. 25, 713).

Ibn Wadh.. Al 'Abbas and 'Umar, the sons of Al Walid, made a raid.

El. Nis. 94
Theoph. AM 6205
Mich. AS 1023

Al Tab.. And amongst the events of this year was the raid of Al 'Abbas, the son of Walid, into the land of the Romans, and it is said that in it he took Antakhiya. And in it, as it is said, 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Al Walid, made a raid into the land of the Romans till he reached Ghazala; and Al Walid, the son of Hisham, the Mu'aiti, reached the land of Burg Al Chamam;[2] and Yazid, the son of Abu Khabsha, reached the land of Suriya.[3]

95 (Sept. 26, 713–Sept. 15, 714).

El. Nis. 95

Al Tab.. And this year was the raid of Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, into the land of the Romans, and God took three fortresses by his hands, as it is said, and they were Tulas, and Al Marzbanain, and Hirakla.[4] And in it Al Wadhdhachi was killed in the land of the Romans, and about 1,000 men with him.

96 (Sept. 16, 714–Sept. 4, 715).

Ibn Wadh.. Bishr, the son of Al Walid, made a raid.

Al Tab.. And this year, as Al Wakidi says, was the raid of Bishr, the son of Al Walid, in the winter; and, when he returned, Al Walid was dead.

Caliphate of Solomon.

Theoph. AM 6206(?)
Mich. AS 1026

Ibn Wadh.. Maslama made a raid and took the fortress of Al Chadid, and wintered in the lands of the Romans; and 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, made a raid by sea; and they occupied all between Al Khalig[5] and Al Kustantiniyya, and they took the city of the Slavs;[6] and Solomon sent them reinforcements under 'Amr, the son of Kais, the Khindi, and 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Umar, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Ukba.

Ibn W. also has a duplicate account as follows: And Solomon went out in the direction of Al Gazira and took up his abode at a place called Dabik,[7] in

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[1] This is the reading of the MSS. Guidi would read Bargama, which differs only by points. Bargama, however, is the Arabic name for Pergamos, which seems quite out of place here. The capture of Pergamos is recorded by Michael and the Chronicle of 846 under A.S. 1027 (716). Theophanes also records it under 716 (A.M. 6208), but, as he makes it contemporaneous with Leo's accession, he must mean to place it in 717.

[2] *i.e.* the tower of the pigeon.

[3] Since Suriya (Syria, see p. 183, note 4) and Sauriya (Isauria) differ only by a point, it is often impossible to say which is meant; cf. ann. 90.

[4] Ibn Al Athir, 'he took Hirakla and other places.' He has already recorded the capture of Al Marzbanain and Tus (Tulas?) under AH 93 (p. 193, note 3). The last name might stand for Doara, which would go well with Sebasteia, but not with Herakleia, unless Herakleia-Kybistra is meant. Another reading is Tunas. Al Marzbanain = the two marzbans.

[5] *i.e.* the canal. The name covers the Hellespont, Propontis, and Bosporus.

[6] Prof. Ramsay (*Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 351) identifies the city of the Slavs with Loulon, near the Cilician gates: but the city here mentioned would seem to have been near Constantinople.

[7] MS. Dhanik.

the province of Kinnasrin (Chalkis); and he sent Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, upon a raid into the territory of the Romans, and told him to go to Al Kustantiniyya, and remain before it till he took it. And Maslama went on till he reached Al Kustantiniyya, and remained before it till he had sown and eaten of what he had sown; and he entered and took the city of the Slavs. And the Moslems were smitten by scarcity, and hunger, and cold; and Solomon heard of the condition of Maslama and his men, and sent them reinforcements under 'Amr, the son of Kais, by land; and he sent 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, the Fizari, to make a raid by sea; and that because the Romans had made an attack upon the city of Ladikiya (Laodikeia), in the province of Chims, and had burnt it, and had carried away some of what was in it. And 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, reached the canal (khalig) of Al Kustantiniyya.[1] El. Nis. 97

97 (Sept. 5, 715–Aug. 24, 716).

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the equipping by Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, of the armies intended to march to Al Kustantiniyya, and the appointment of his son David, the son of Solomon, to conduct the summer expedition; and he took the fortress of Al Mara. And in it, as Al Wakidi records, Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid into the land of the Romans;[2] and he took the fortress which had been taken by Al Wadhdhach, the chief of the Wadhdhachiyya. And in it 'Umar,[3] the son of Hubaira, the Fizari, made a raid by sea upon the land of the Romans, and wintered in it. Theoph. AM 6208 Mich. AS 1027

98 (Aug. 25, 716–Aug. 13, 717).

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the sending by Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, of his brother Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, to Al Kustantiniyya; and he told him to remain before it till he took it or an order from him came to him. And he passed winter and summer there. . . . . I was told by Achmad, the son of Zuhair, on the authority of 'Ali, the son of Mahomet: he said: When Solomon assumed the government, he made a raid upon the Romans; and he stationed himself at Dabik, and sent Maslama in front; and the Romans were afraid of him; and Leo appeared from Arminiya. . . . . And the patricians said to Leo, 'If you deliver us from Maslama, we will make you king'; and they made a covenant with him. And he came to Maslama and said, 'The people know that you will not make serious war upon them, but will give them a respite, as long as the corn lasts with you: and, if you burn the corn, they will submit.' And he burned it: and the enemy remained, and the Moslems were straitened until they nearly perished. . . . . And El. Nis. 98 Theoph. AM 6209 Nikeph. p. 53 Chron. of 846 AS 1028 'Dion.' AS 1028

[1] Though in the text these events are ascribed in the summary to 96, we should very probably read 97, since Ibn W. has already recounted the events of 96 under the Caliphate of Al Walid. This author records the campaigns not under each year in the narrative, but all together at the end of each Caliphate.

[2] Ibn Al Ath. 'the land of the Wadhdhachiyya.'

[3] Text ' 'Amr.' I correct from Ibn Al Athir.

that happened to the force which had never happened to an army before, until a man was afraid to go out of the camp alone; and they ate the beasts of burden and skins and the trunks and leaves of trees and everything except dust. And Solomon remained at Dabik, and continued there through the winter; and he was not able to send them help till Solomon died.[1] . . . . . And this year the city of the Slavs was taken. Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, says: 'The Burgan (Bulgarians) made an attack in the year 98 upon Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, and he had few men with him; and Solomon sent him help under Mas'ada or 'Amr, the son of Kais, with a military force; and the Slavs made a treacherous attack upon them; then God routed them, after they had killed Shurachil, the son of 'Abda.

And in this year, as Al Wakidi states, Al Walid, the son of Hisham, and 'Amr, the son of Kais, made a raid, and some of the men of Antakhiya were cut to pieces; and Al Walid attacked some men in the outlying districts of the Romans, and took many prisoners from among them.

Chron. of 846 AS 1028(?) . . . . . And this year David, the son of Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid into the land of the Romans, and took the fortress of Al Mara near Malatya.[2]

99 (Aug. 14, 717–Aug. 2, 718).[3]

Ibn Wadh.. Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, sent his son David to the land of the Romans, and Maslama was remaining quiet before Al Kustantiniyya; and David took the fortress of Al Mara, in the neighbourhood of Malatya.

Caliphate of 'Umar II.

During his government in the year 99 'Amr, the son of Kais, the Khindi, made a raid in the summer.

Theoph. AM 6210 Nikeph. p. 55 Al Tab. And in this year 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, sent to Maslama, who was in the land of the Romans, and told him to return from it with the Moslems who were with him: and he sent him some high-bred horses and a large quantity of corn, and he urged the men to go to his assistance. And the number of high-bred horses which he sent to him was, as it is said, 500 horses.

100 (Aug. 3, 718–July 23, 719).

Al Tab.. And in this year 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, sent Al Walid, the son of Hisham, the Mu'aiti, and 'Amr, the son of Kais, the Khindi, of the men of Chims, to make a raid in the summer.

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[1] There is a much longer account of the expedition against Constantinople in the *Khitab Al 'Uyun*; but it would take too much space to translate it here.

[2] The *Chronicle* of 846 makes David take the fortress of 'Antigun' in A.S. 1028 (Oct. 1, 716—Sept. 30, 717). For Al Mara cf. ann. 33.

[3] We should perhaps read 98, since Ibn W. mentions an expedition of 99 under the reign of 'Umar.

Ibn Al Athir. In this year 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, ordered the men of Taranda (Taranton) to withdraw from it to Malatya; and Taranda is in the Roman territory, three days' journey from Malatya; and 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, had settled the Moslems in it after he had made a raid upon it in the year 83;[1] and Malatya was at that time deserted: and he introduced among them a military force from Al Gazira, to be stationed among them until the snow came down and they returned to their district. And this state of affairs went on until 'Umar succeeded to the government; and he ordered them to return to Malatya and left Taranda unoccupied, through fear of injury to the Moslems from the enemy: and he left Taranda deserted, and appointed as governor of Malatya Ga'wana, the son of Al Charith, one of the sons of 'Amir, the son of Sa'sa'a.

Caliphate of Yazid II.

102 (July 12, 720–June 30, 721).

Ibn Wadh.. Under his government in the year 102 'Abd Al Walid, the son of Hisham, made a raid at the head of the men into the land of the Romans, and encamped at the ford near Antakhiya. And 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, attacked the Romans in Fourth Arminiya, and routed them and took 700 prisoners from among them.

Al Tab.. And in this year 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, made a raid upon the Romans in Arminiya, and routed them, and took many men prisoners from among them—it is said 700 prisoners.[2]

Ibn Al Athir adds: And in this year Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid upon the Romans, and took Dalisa (Dalisandos?).[3]

103 (Jul. 1, 721–June 20, 722).

Ibn Wadh.. Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid; and the men were cut to pieces in detachments. And 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Solomon, the Khalbi, and 'Uthman, the son of Chayyan, the Murri, made a raid, and encamped against a fortress, and took it. El. Nis. 103

Al Tab.. And in this year Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid upon the Romans, and took a city called Rasala.[4]

104 (June 21, 722–June 9, 723).

Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Solomon, the Khalbi, made a

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[1] According to Theoph. the attack of 'Abd Allah on Taranton in A.M. 6193 (701) was unsuccessful. The occupation of Taranton is placed by Michael in A.S. 1022 (711), and by the Chronicle of 846 in A.S. 1021 (710). According to both these authorities the captor was Maslama.

[2] Ibn Al Athir 'and killed 700 prisoners.' The difference between 'kila' (it is said) and 'katala' (killed) is only one of pointing.

[3] See next note.

[4] vvll. Ghasla and Wasala. Ibn Al Athir 'Dasala.' Perhaps Ouasada is the place meant; but it seems probable that it is the same as that mentioned under the previous year under the name of Dalisa (the vowels are doubtful).

raid on the south in the summer; and 'Uthman, the son of Chayyan, the Murri, made a raid upon the north in the summer.

105 (June 10, 723–May 28, 724).

Ibn Wadh.. Sa'id, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, the son of Marwan, made a raid; then he returned and made a raid upon the regions of the Turks.

Theoph. AM 6216

Al Tab.. And in this year was the raid of Sa'id, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, into the land of the Romans; and he sent out a detachment of about 1,000 fighting men, and, as is recorded, they were all cut to pieces.

Ibn Al Athir. And this year Marwan, the son of Mahomet, made a raid upon the south in the summer and took Kuniya (Ikonion) in the land of the Romans and Khamkh (Kamachos).[1]

Caliphate of Hisham.

Khitab Al 'Uyun. And this year Marwan, the son of Mahomet, made a raid at the head of the forces of Al Gazira and the forces of Al Sham (and he was governor of Al Gazira in the name of Hisham), and with him was Sa'id, the son of Hisham, at the head of the forces of Al Sham; and he entered by the road of Malatiyya and took a fortress called Muwasa by storm, after he had beseiged them and assaulted them with engines. And they asked him to grant a capitulation, and he refused to grant them anything but a surrender at discretion. And, when he had taken it, he decided to kill the fighting men and carry the children into captivity; and he divided them among the Moslems, and destroyed the fortress.

106 (May 29, 724–May 18, 725).

Ibn Wadh.. And during his government, in the year 106, Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid at the head of the men; and he sent Al Wadhdhach, the chief of the Wadhdhachiyya, and he burnt the crops and the villages, because the Romans had burnt the pasture lands. And Sa'id, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid upon the north in the summer.

Al Tab. And in this year Sa'id, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid in the summer.

107 (May 19, 725–May 7, 726).

Theoph. AM 6218

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya also made a raid.[2]

Al Tab.. Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid by land.

El. Nis. 107 Theoph. AM 6218 'Dion.' AS 1040 cf. Mich. and Chron. of 846 AS 1037 (Neokaisareia)

Khitab Al 'Uyun. Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid upon Kaisariyya (Kaisareia), and that is between Malatiyya and Khamakh (Kamachos), and took it.

[1] There is nothing to show whether the author would place this expedition before or after the death of Yazid (Jan. 724).

[2] Al Tab. makes this a raid upon Cyprus, which does not come within the limits of the article.

108 (May 8, 726–Apr. 27, 727).

Ibn Wadh.. Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid in the summer on the south; and 'Asim, the son of Yazid, the Hilali, made a raid in the summer on the north.

Al Tab.. And in this year was the raid of Maslama the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, until he reached Kaisariyya, a city of the Romans on the borders of Al Gazira;[1] and God took it by his hands.

And in it also Abraham, the son of Hisham, made a raid and took also one of the fortresses of the Romans.

109 (Apr. 28, 727–Apr. 15, 728).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid, and with him was Al Battal in command of his advance-guard, and he took Khangara.[2] El. Nis. 108 Theoph. AM 6218

Al Tab.. And amongst the events of this year was the raid of 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Ukba, the son of Nafi', the Fihri, at the head of a force by sea, and the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, upon the land of the Romans; and he took a fortress in it called Taiba,[3] and some of the troops of Antakhiya in his company were cut to pieces.

110 (Apr. 16, 728–Apr. 4, 729).

Al Tab.. And in this year, as is recorded, Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid upon the land of the Romans and took Samala. And in it 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Ukba, the Fihri, made a raid in the summer; and over the sea forces, as Al Wakidi records, was 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Mu'awiya, the son of Chudaig. Theoph. AM 6219(?)

Khitab Al 'Uyun. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer; and he sent 'Abd Allah Al Battal in command of his advance-guard, and he took a fortress in the territory of the Romans, and in it some men were cut to pieces by them; and Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham besieged . . . .[4]

111 (Apr. 5, 729–Mar. 25, 730).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer upon the north, and Sa'id, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer upon the south.

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, in the summer upon the north, and the raid of Sa'id, the son of Hisham, in the summer upon the south until he reached Kaisariyya. Al Wakidi says: In the year 111 'Abd Allah, the son of Abu Maryam, made a raid at the head of the sea-forces; and Hisham appointed Al Chakham, the

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[1] Ibn Al Ath. adds: 'and that is a celebrated city.' He also records under this year the raid recorded under 107 by Al Tab..

[2] As there are no points in the MS., the name might also be read 'Gangra.' Mich. records the capture of Gangra under A.S. 1042 (731). Cf. also ann. 93.

[3] vl. Taina; possibly to be identified with 'τὸ κάστρον 'Ατεοῦς (Theoph. A.M. 6219).

[4] The name has fallen out. Perhaps it is Nikaia, the siege of which is recorded by Mich. under A.S. 1042 (731).

son of Kais, the son of Makhrama, the son of 'Abd Al Muttalib,[1] the son of 'Abd Manaf, to command all the men of Al Sham and Misr.

112 (Mar. 26, 730–Mar. 14, 731).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid upon the Romans; and he did not succeed in entering their territory, but remained at the frontier at Al 'Amk,[2] in the district of Mar'ash.

Theoph. AM 6222 Mich. AS 1042

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, in the summer; and he took Kharshana (Charsianon) and burnt Farandiyya in the district of Malatya.

Khitab Al 'Uyun. And this year 'Abd Al Wahhab, the son of Bukht, was killed while in company with Al Battal, in the land of the Romans; and that because the men were scattered from Al Battal and put to flight; and 'Abd Al Wahhab . . advanced towards the enemy . . and mingled with the host and was killed, and his horse was killed.

113 (Mar. 15, 731–Mar. 2, 732).

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the death of 'Abd Al Wahhab, the son of Bukht; and he was with Al Battal 'Abd Allah in the land of the Romans. And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, records on the authority of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Umar, that 'Abd Al Wahhab, the son of Bukht, made a raid with Al Battal in the year 113, and the men were scattered from Al Baṭṭal, &c. (the rest as in Khit. Al 'Uyun, ann. 112).

And among the events was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, into the land of the Romans; and he stayed on the frontier in the district of Mar'ash and returned.

114 (Mar. 3, 732–Feb. 20, 733).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, and Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid.

El. Nis. 114(?) Theoph. AM 6224

Al Tab.. And among the events was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, upon the north in the summer, and the raid of Solomon, the son of Hisham, upon the south in the summer; and it is recorded that Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, smote the suburbs of Akrun (Akroinon), and that 'Abd Allah Al Battal and Constantine met with their forces; and he routed them and took Constantine prisoner. And Solomon, the son of Hisham, reached Kaisariyya.

115 (Feb. 21, 733–Feb. 9, 734).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya and Solomon, the sons of Hisham, made a raid, and over the advance-guard was 'Abd Allah Al Battal; and he met Constantine and took him prisoner and routed the Romans.

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, upon the land of the Romans.

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[1] The text of Al Tab. has Al Muttalib. I insert ' 'Abd ' from Ibn Al Athir.

[2] *i.e.* the valley: see ann. 75 and note.

Khitab Al 'Uyun. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer, and with him were the men of Al Sham and the men of Al Gazira and 'Abd Allah Al Battal. And, when the Moslems and the Romans met, and over the forces was 'Abd Allah Al Battal . . . . , the Romans were routed, and the Moslems fell upon them and made great slaughter, and took many captives, and took possession of their camp and made spoil of their property.

116 (Feb. 10, 734–Jan. 30, 735).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid.

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, in the summer, upon the land of the Romans. El. Nis. 116 Theoph. AM 6226(?)

117 (Jan. 31, 735—Jan. 19, 736).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya and Solomon, the sons of Hisham, made a raid.[1] El. Nis. 117

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, upon the north in the summer, and the raid of Solomon, the son of Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, upon the south in the summer in the neighbourhood of Al Gazira; and he scattered his detachments over the land of the Romans. Theoph. AM 6227(?)

118 (Jan. 20, 736–Jan. 7, 737).

Al Tab.. Among the events was the raid of Mu'awiya and Solomon, the sons of Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, upon the land of the Romans. El. Nis. 118 Theoph. AM 6228.

119 (Jan. 8–Dec. 28, 737).

Al Tab.. Among the events was the raid of Al Walid, the son of Al Ka'ka', the 'Absi, upon the land of the Romans.

120 (Dec. 29, 737–Dec. 17, 738).

Al Tab.. Among the events was the raid by Solomon, the son of Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, in the summer, and his capture, as is recorded, of Sindira (Sideroun). Theoph. AM 6230

121 (Dec. 18, 738–Dec. 6, 739).

Ibn Wadh.. Maslama, the son of Hisham, reached Malatya.

Al Tab.. Among the events was the raid of Maslama, the son of Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, upon the Romans; and in it he took Matamir.

122 (Dec. 7, 739–Nov. 25, 740).

Ibn Wadh.. Solomon, the son of Hisham, made a raid upon the district of Malatya. Theoph. AM 6231

[1] From this point down to 121 the text of Ibn Wadh. is defective.

Al Tab.. In this year 'Abd Allah Al Battal was killed with a force of Moslems in the land of the Romans.

Khitab Al 'Uyun. Al Battal, the son of Al Chusain, (his name was 'Abd Allah) and Constantine met with large forces; and God Most High routed them, and Constantine was taken prisoner. And Al Battal advanced with the captives, and he was attacked in the rear and killed, and with him was killed Malikh, the son of Shu'aib.

Theoph. AM 6231

Ibn Al Athir. In this year Al Battal (and his name was 'Abd Allah Abu'lChusain, the Antakhi) was killed with a force of Moslems in the land of the Romans; and it is said also that it was in the year 123.

123 (Nov. 26, 740–Nov. 14, 741).

El. Nis. 123 Ibn Wadh.. Solomon, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer.

124 (Nov. 15, 741–Nov. 3, 742).

El. Nis. 124 Theoph. AM 6233 Ibn Wadh.. Solomon, the son of Hisham, made a raid, and he met Leo,[1] the Emperor of the Romans, and Artiyas (Artavazd); and he returned, and there was no battle between them.

Al Tab.. And in this year Solomon made a raid in the summer, and he met Leo, the king of the Romans, and carried off captives and spoil.

125 (Nov. 4, 742–Oct. 24, 743).

Theoph. AM 6234 Ibn Wadh.. Al Ghamr, the son of Yazid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid.

Al Tab.. Among the events was the raid by Al Nu'man, the son of Yazid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, in the summer.

Caliphate of Al Walid II.

Ibn Al Athir. This year the Romans came out to Zibatra,[2] and that is an ancient fortress; and it had been taken by Chabib, the son of Maslama, the Fihri; and the Romans demolished it at that time; and it was rebuilt without strength; and the Romans demolished it again in the days of Marwan, the son of Mahomet, the Ass.[3] . . . And in this year Al Walid sent his brother, Al Ghamr, the son of Yazid, to make a raid.[4]

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[1] El. Nis. 'the son of Leo'; and this is obviously right, since Leo died in June 741.

[2] Between Melitene and Samosata and Al Chadath (see p. 208) according to Yakut. Perhaps it should be identified with Deba (mod. Tshebat). Abu'l Fida (Tab. Syr. pp. 28, 30) places Zibatra two days' journey south of Melitene and in lat. 36° 50′, long. 61° 20′.

[3] 'The ass of Al Gazira' was a nickname of Marwan II.

[4] Ibn Wadh. is therefore wrong in ascribing this raid to the reign of Hisham, who in fact died in Feb. 743.

Extracts from Al Baladhuri.

The Affair of the Guragima.[1]

And in the days of Ibn Al Zubair, after the death of Marwan, the son of Al Chakham, when 'Abd Al Malikh was seeking the succession to the Caliphate, . . . and was calling for the help of the men to go to Al 'Irak to fight against Al Mus'ab, the son of Al Zubair, a Roman army went out to the mountains of Al Lukham (Amanos) under one of their generals; then they went to Lubnan (Lebanon), where was collected a large force of the Guragima and Nabataeans and runaway slaves of the Moslems. And 'Abd Al Malikh was compelled to make peace with them on condition of paying 1,000 denarii every assembly-day; and he made peace with the Emperor of the Romans for the amount which he was to pay him in order to prevent him from fighting against him, and because he was afraid he would go out to Al Sham and conquer it. . . . And this was in the year 70. . . . . And Maimun the Gurgunami was a Roman slave belonging to the sons of Um Al Chakham, the sister of Mu'awiya, the son of Abu Sufyan, and they were Thakafis; and by birth indeed he came of the Guragima, so that he joined them and went out to Mt. Lubnan with them. And 'Abd Al Malikh heard that he was a man of prowess and valour; and he asked his masters to set him free, and they did it; and he gave him command of a military force and sent him to Antakhiya; and he made a raid upon Al Tuwana in company with Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, (and he was at the head of 1,000 of the men of Antakhiya), and he was martyred after showing distinguished courage. And 'Abd Al Malikh sent a large army to make a raid upon the Romans in order to exact vengeance for him.[2]

Cf. p. 189

Cf. p. 191

The Frontier of Al Sham (Syria).

I was informed by some elders of the inhabitants of Antakhiya: they said: The frontier of the Moslems in Al Sham in the days of 'Umar and 'Uthman (God be gracious to them) and the succeeding sovereigns, was Antakhiya and other cities, which Al Rashid called 'Awasim[3]; and the Moslems used to raid the country beyond just as now they raid the country beyond Tarsus. And between Al Iskhandaruna (Alexandria by Issos) and Tarsus the Romans had fortresses and armour-stores like the fortresses and armour-stores by which the Moslems pass at the present day. And sometimes their inhabitants left them and fled into the territory of the Romans

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[1] *i.e.* Mardaites.

[2] This account is at variance with that of Al Tab., at least according to the most obvious meaning of that writer's words, for he certainly seems to represent Maimun as being on the Roman side. The acceunt of Theophanes (ἐπεστράτευσε Μασαλμᾶς καὶ Ἄβας τὴν Τύανον διὰ τὴν μανίαν τοῦ ἀποκτανθέντος στρατοῦ σὺν τῷ Μαιουμᾷ ὑπὸ Μαριανοῦ) accords with Al Baladhuri.

[3] *i.e.* defences.

in fear; and sometimes Roman fighting men were moved into them to occupy them. And it is said that Herakleios brought men with him and stationed them in those cities, when he retired from Antakhiya, lest the Moslems should come and colonize the land between Antakhiya and the territory of the Romans. And God knows. . . . . And there is a difference as to who was the first to pass the Gates (these are the Gates of Baghras (Pagrai)). And some say: They were passed by Maisara, the son of Masruk, the 'Absi, who was sent by Abu 'Ubaida, the son of Al Garrach; and he met a Roman force accompanied by some Musta'riba from Ghassan and Tanukh and Iyad, who were going to join Herakleios; and he attacked them and slew a large number of fighting men from among them. Then he was joined by Malikh Al Ashtar, the Nakha'i, with reinforcements from Abu 'Ubaida, who was at Antakhiya. And others say: the first who passed the Gates was 'Umair, the son of Sa'd, the Ansari, when he was sent on the matter of Gabala, the son of Al Aiham.

Cf. p. 183

And Abu'l Khattab the Azdi says: I have heard that Abu 'Ubaida himself made a summer raid and passed by Al Massisa and Tarsus; and the population of these places and the neighbouring fortresses emigrated: and he passed through the Gates, and his raid extended as far as Zanda.[1] And another account says: he sent Maisara, the son of Masruk, and he reached Zanda.

I was informed by Abu Salich Al Farraa, who had it from a man of Dimashk (Damascus) called 'Abd Allah, the son of Al Walid, who had it from Hisham, the son of Al 'Az, who had it from 'Ubada, the son of Nusa, as Abu Salich thinks; he said: When Mu'awiya made a raid upon 'Ammuriyya in the year 25, he found the fortresses between Antakhiya and Tarsus deserted; and he stationed in them a force taken from the men of Al Sham and Al Gazira and Kinnasrin, until he returned from his raid; then a year or two years afterwards he sent Yazid, the son of Al Chur, the 'Absi, on a summer raid; and he gave him orders, and he acted accordingly, and the officers did his bidding. And this man said; And I found in the book of the raids of Mu'awiya that he made a raid in the year 31 in the district of Al Massisa, and reached Darauliyya[2]; and, when he went on the expedition, he did not pass by any fortress between him and Antakhiya without destroying it.

Cf. p. 183

Aug. 24, 651–Aug. 11, 652.

And I was informed by Mahomet, the son of Sa'd, on the authority of Al Wakidi and others: he said: In the year 84 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, the son of Marwan, made a raid in the summer, and he entered by the Gates of Antakhiya; and he came to Al Massisa and built its fortress upon its old foundations. And he planted in it a colony taken from the army, among whom were 300 men, whom he had selected from among those possessed of valour and distinguished courage; and the Moslems had not

Cf. p. 191

[1] Yakut mentions Zandan near Mopsouestia and quotes Khalifa, the son of Khayyat, as recording a raid upon it by 'Abd Allah the son of Sa'd the son of Abu Sarch in the year 31.

[2] Perhaps we should read Adhruliyya or Ardaluniya (see p. 192). Dorylaion seems impossible, though that is the name usually represented by Darauliyya.

colonized it before that time. And he built a mosque in it close to the hill of the fortress. Then he went on with his army till he made a raid upon the fortress of Sinan and took it; and he sent Yazid, the son of Chunin, the Tai, the Antakhi; and he made an incursion and then returned to him. And Abu'l Khattab the Azdi said: The first in Al Islam who built the fortress of Al Massisa was 'Abd Al Malikh, the son of Marwan, acting through his son, 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, in the year 84 upon its old foundations: and the building and garrisoning were completed in the year 85. . . . . He said: And 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, journeyed till he came to the granary of Al Massisa; and he wished to destroy it and to destroy the fortresses between it and Antakhiya. And he said, "I am afraid of the Romans besieging the inhabitants of it." And the men told him that it had been colonized in order to keep the Romans who were in it away from Antakhiya; and, if he laid it waste, there would be nothing to stop the enemy until they came to Antakhiya. And he gave up the idea and built a general mosque for the inhabitants in the district of Khafarbayya. . . . He said: Then Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, built the suburbs; then Marwan, the son of Mahomet, built the booths on the east of the Gichan (Pyramos), and round it he built a wall, and set up a wooden gate in it and dug a trench. . . . . .

They (the elders of the frontier) said: And the man who fortified Al Muthakkab[1] was Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, acting through Chassan, the son of Mahuwaih, the Antakhi. . . . . And Hisham built the fortress of Katarghash [2] by the instrumentality of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Chayyan, the Antakhi; and Hisham built the fortress of Mura by the instrumentality of a man of Antakhiya. . . . . And Hisham built the fortress of Buka[3] in the territory of Antakhiya; then it was restored and renewed. . . . . And Abu'l Khattab says: The bridge on the road to Adhana (Adana) from Al Massisa (and that is 9 miles from Al Massisa) was built in the year 125, and it was called the bridge of Al Walid; and that was Al Walid, the son of Yazid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, the murdered. . . . .

The Frontier of Al Gazira (Mesopotamia).

They said: When 'Uthman, the son of 'Affan, (God be gracious to him) became Caliph, he wrote to Mu'awiya, appointing him Wali of Al Sham; and he made 'Umair, the son of Sa'd, the Ansari, Wali of Al Gazira; then he superseded him, and united Al Sham and Al Gazira and their fortresses in the hands of Mu'awiya. And he ordered him to make a raid upon Shimshat (Samosata), and that is in Fourth Arminiya, or send someone else to make a raid upon it. And he sent thither Chabib, the son of Maslama, the Fihri, and Safwan, the son of Mu'attal, the Sulami: and they took it some days after

[1] See Tomaschek, *Zur Historischen Topogr. v. Kleinasien*, p. 71 (Wiener Akad. Sitzungsber. Bd. 126).

[2] Near Mopsouestia according to Yakut.

[3] From Al Bal. p. 159 it appears that this place was close to Mt. Amanos.

they had encamped before it on the same terms as the capitulation of Al Ruha (Edessa); and Safwan remained in it, and there he died at the end of the Caliphate of Mu'awiya. And it is said: No, the man who made the raid upon it was Mu'awiya himself, and Hadhan with him; and he made Safwan Wali of it, and he settled in it and died there. . . . . And they said: Chabib, the son of Maslama, made a raid on the fortress of Khamkh after the capture of Shimshat, and could not take it. And Safwan made a raid upon it, and did not succeed in capturing it. Then he made a raid upon it in the year 59; and that is the year in which he died; and with him was 'Umair, the son of Al Chubab, the Sulami; and 'Umair mounted the wall and never ceased fighting upon it alone until the Romans retired, and the Moslems climbed up and took it for 'Umair, the son of Al Chubab. And he gloried in this and was glorified for it. Then the Romans recovered it, and Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, took it;[1] and it never ceased being taken and being recovered by the Romans. . . . . .

Malatiyya. And they said: 'Iyadh, the son of Ghanm, sent Chabib, the son of Maslama, the Fihri, from Shimshat to Malatiyya, and he took it; then the gates were shut. And, when Mu'awiya became Wali of Al Sham and Al Gazira, he sent Chabib, the son of Maslama, thither, and he took it by storm: and he settled a colony of Moslems in it with an administrator. And Mu'awiya came to it when he wished to enter Roman territory; and he garrisoned it with a force taken from the men of Al Sham and Al Gazira and others. And it was on the road of the summer expeditions. Then its inhabitants migrated from it in the days of 'Abd Allah, the son of Al Zubair, and the Romans came out and pulled it down; then they left it, and some Armenian and Nabatean Christians settled in it.

And I was informed by Mahomet, the son of Sa'd, on the authority of Al Wakidi in his tradition; he said: The Moslems settled in Taranda after 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, had made a raid upon it in the year 83; and they built houses in it: and it is about 3 days' journey from Malatiyya, in the territory of the Romans; and Malatiyya was at that time deserted, there being no one in it except some of the subject-peoples, Armenians and others. And some scouts from the army of Al Gazira used to come there in the summer and remain in the town until the winter came on and the snow fell; and, when this happened, they withdrew. And, when 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, (God be gracious to him) succeeded to the government, he removed the population of Taranda against their will; and this was because he feared danger to them from the enemy. . . . . Then he settled them in Malatiyya, and left Taranda deserted; and he made Ga'wana, the son of Al Charith, one of the sons of 'Amir, the son of Sa'sa'a, Wali of Malatiyya.

Cf. p. 197

They said: And 20,000 Romans went out in the year 123 and encamped against Malatiyya; and the inhabitants shut their gates, and the women mounted the wall with turbans on their heads, and fought. And a messenger

[1] Theoph. records its capture under AM 6203 (711). Another capture in 723/4 is recorded by Ibn Al Athir (above, p. 198).

from the inhabitants of Malatiyya went out to ask for help, and the courier rode on until he came to Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, who was at Al Rusafa (Resapha); and Hisham despatched the men to Malatiyya. Then the news reached him that the Romans had withdrawn from it, and he called the messenger and told him; and he sent with him some horsemen to keep guard in it. And Hisham conducted a raid himself; then he came down to Malatiyya, and stayed in it until the building was completed. . . . .

And they said: Abu 'Ubaida, the son of Al Garrach, when he was at Manbig (Hierapolis), sent Khalid, the son of Al Walid, to the district of Mar'ash; and he took the fortress upon condition of the people migrating. Then he left it deserted; and Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Ghamdi, when he made a raid upon the Romans in the year 30, started from before Mar'ash, and marched through the territory of the Romans. And Mu'awiya built the city of Mar'ash, and stationed a military force in it. And after the death of Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, the Roman attacks upon them increased, and they withdrew from it; and 'Abd Al Malikh made peace with the Romans after the death of his father Marwan, the son of Al Chakham. . . . . And in the year 74 Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid upon the Romans, and broke the peace. And in the year 75 Mahomet, the son of Marwan, also made a summer raid; and the Romans came out from before Mar'ash to Al A'mak[1] in Gumada I.,[2] and the Moslems overcame them; and their commander was Aban, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Ukba, the son of Abu Mu'ait, and with him was Dinar, the son of Dinar, a mauli[3] of 'Abd Al Malikh, the son of Marwan, and he was governor of Kinnasrin and its territory. And they met in the valley of Mar'ash and engaged in a stubborn fight, and the Romans were routed, and the Moslems pursued them, slaying and taking prisoners. And this year Dinar met a Roman force at the bridge of Yaghra,[4] which is about 10 miles from Shimshat, and defeated them. Then Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, went to Mar'ash, and stayed there and fortified it, and removed the men into it. . . . . And in the days of Marwan, the son of Mahomet, when he was occupied in fighting against the inhabitants of Chims, the Romans came out and besieged the city of Mar'ash, until its inhabitants capitulated on condition of being allowed to migrate. And they went towards Al Gazira and the province of Kinnasrin with their families. Then they destroyed it. And Marwan's governor over it at that time was Al Khauthar, the son of Zufar, the son of Al Charith, the Khilabi; and the Emperor at that time was Constantine, the son of Leo. Then, when Marwan had finished the affair of Chims, and had destroyed its wall, he sent an army

Sept. 4, 650–Aug. 23, 651

Theoph. AM 6184(?); Nikeph. p. 36(?) Mich. fol. 260 r(?) (without date)

Cf. p. 189

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[1] See p. 189, note 5.

[2] Aug. 28–Sept. 26, 694. The Syriac writers place the battle in AS 1006 = AH 76, in which Gum. I. = Aug. 17–Sept. 15, 695.

[3] *i.e.* slave or freedman.

[4] Perhaps the bridge over the Singas. This, however, according to Kiepert's map is 25 Roman miles from Samosata. There is a smaller river about 11 miles from Samosata, which may perhaps be meant. The lake Al Yaghra near the Syrian Gates (Tomaschek p. 74) is of course out of the question. Abu'l Fida (Tab. Syr. p. 153) makes the river Al Yaghra a tributary of a river which flows into the Lake of Antioch, but no such river passes anywhere near Samosata.

to build Mar'ash; and it was built and re-founded. And the Romans came out during the civil war and destroyed it. . . . . .

They said: And the fortress of Al Chadath[1] was among those that were taken in the days of 'Umar, its captor being Chabib, the son of Maslama, in the name of 'Iyadh, the son of Ghanm; and Mu'awiya restored it after that. And the sons of Umayya called the gate of Al Chadath 'Al Salama Al Taira,'[2] because the Moslems were cut to pieces in it; and that was Al Chadath, as some men say. And some say: A young (chadath) lad with his companions, met the Moslems at the gate, and fought against them; and it was called the gate of Al Chadath. And in the time of the civil war of Marwan, the son of Mahomet the Romans came out and destroyed the city of Al Chadath, and removed the inhabitants from it, as they did at Malatiyya. . . . . They

Cf. p. 185 said: And Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, who was called 'King (malikh) of the summer raids' and was one of the men of Filastin (Palestine), made a raid upon the territory of the Romans in the year 46, and carried off much spoil. Then he retired; and, when he was about 15 miles from the gate of Al Chadath, at a place called Al Rahwa, he stayed there three days and sold the spoil and divided the captured arrows: and that Al Rahwa was called Rahwa Malikh. They said: And Marg 'Abd Al Wachad was a pasturage reserved for the horses of the Moslems. And, when Al Chadath and Zinatra[3] were built, they had no need of it, and it was sown. They said: And Zinatra was an old Roman fortress; and it was taken at the same time as the old fortress of Al Chadath, its captor being Chabib, the son of Maslama, the Fihri. And it stood until the Romans destroyed it in the days of Al Walid, the son of Yazid; and it was rebuilt without strength; and the Romans encamped before it in the days of the civil war of Marwan, the son of Mahomet, and razed it to the ground.

E. W. Brooks.

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[1] Between Melitene and Samosata and Germanikeia according to Yakut.

[2] *i.e.* 'the unstable security.'

[3] So the MSS.: de Goeje would substitute 'Zibatra,' which differs only by a point and is the form given by Ibn Al Athir (see p. 202).

ON SOME KARIAN AND HELLENIC OIL-PRESSES.

THIS paper is an attempt to interpret certain stones, which have come to light recently on ancient sites in Karia, as parts of ancient oil-presses, on the ground that they are well adapted to fulfil certain purposes which are still essential to the modern native process of oil extraction in that part of Asia Minor and in the adjacent islands. The inference is that the ancient process closely resembled the modern in the principal features which are recounted below.

I.

The *Modern Method* of extracting olive oil consists of the two processes of *grinding* and *pressing*.

In the most primitive mode of grinding which is still in use, the olives are crushed either on a flat stone by a roller,[1] or in a stone trough by a mill-stone rolling on its edge. In more modern grinders two mill-stones are used, which revolve in a circular trough, as in the grinding of kaolin or cement. The process of grinding seems never to have varied, except as regards the power which is employed; horses having been substituted for men, and steam for horses. In Algeria and Tripoli the circular trough goes back at least to Roman times.[2]

The crushed olives are called *πυρῆνα*, a term which properly refers to the broken kernels. The *πυρῆνα* is exposed to the pressure in bags of hair-cloth, which in large presses are piled one upon another, after being well drenched with hot water. In the ordinary process, each bag is pressed twice, and is drenched again with hot water in the interval, to facilitate the extraction of the oil. Owing to the supply of water which the process demands, oil-presses are generally established near a well or a spring.

The simplest oil-press, which is still in use in many of the Turkish villages in Anatolia, consists only of a stone or wooden trough in which the bags of *πυρῆνα* are placed, with a wooden plank above them, on which men stand to press out the oil. The trough is of oblong form, and is furnished with a spout by which the oil runs into a wooden tank. Similar trough-presses, cut in the rock, are common in many parts of Palestine, and almost

[1] *E.g.* in the Tripolitan oil-mills described below, p. 215.

[2] For Algeria: cf. TISSOT, *L'Afrique Romaine* I. p. 288: A Tripolitan example is published as a 'laver' by H. SWAINSON COWPER, *Antiquary*, Feb. 1896. = *Hill of the Graces* (1897), p. 151.

indistinguishable from the wine-presses. There is a good example among the old olive-trees at Gethsemane.[1]

Much more effective and elaborate presses, however, are in use in the islands and in some parts of the mainland; and several stages of advance can be traced, leading to the steam and hydraulic presses which have lately been introduced in Lesbos and elsewhere to meet the increased crops of olives.

In the common screw press which may be seen in most parts of the Levant, ten or twelve bags of *πυρῆνα* are piled between two wooden plates, of which the lower is fixed while the other is brought down upon the pile by the screw. The lower plate, or press bed, is covered by a shallow iron trough, and in some cases is itself of solid iron. The screw is still often of wood, though

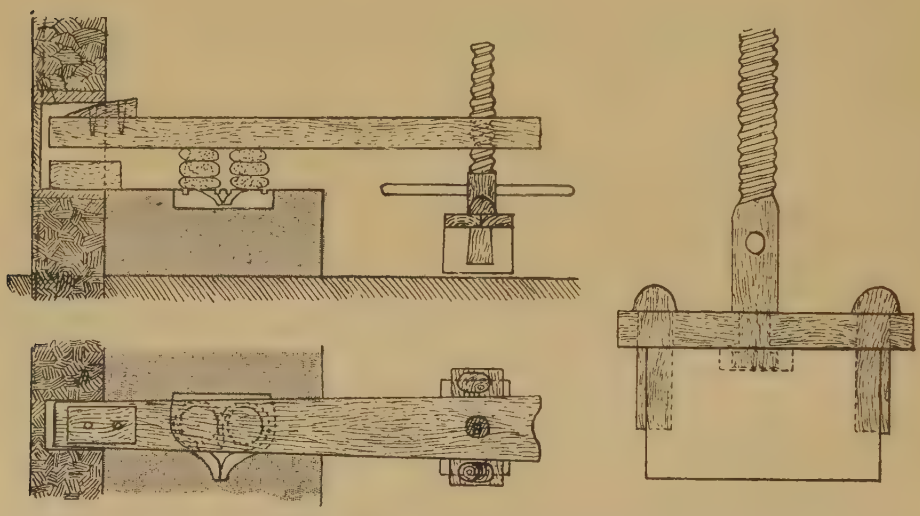

Fig. 1.—Oil Press recently in use at Arginúnta in Kalymnos.
[*The press-bed and weight-stone are unshaded.*]

iron screws are being introduced for large presses. The power is applied at first by means of single levers set in the screw-head; afterwards, as the work proceeds and more power is required, by auxiliary levers which are attached to the first by a rope, and turn on a second shaft at a little distance from the press. In a Cretan press with iron screw, seen by J.L.M. at Ag. Theódoro in Selino Province in 1893, a regular tackle was used instead of an auxiliary lever.

In the presses above described, the head of the screw bears directly upon the upper plate of the press, as in a hand printing press. But a simpler and probably very archaic example is still in use, in which the screw acts on the

[1] Cf. Micah vi. 15; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 212; Tristram, *The Land and the Book*, p. 207; and for the more elaborate processes now in use in Palestine, Tristram, l.c. p. 338–9.

plate indirectly, and with increased effect, by means of a long lever. An example (Fig. 1) seen at Arginúnta in Kalymnos will serve to illustrate this type.[1]

The press is set near the wall of the house, and consists of a large stone block, with a circular channel in its upper surface (of smaller diameter than the ancient press-beds described below) by which the expressed oil runs off into its tank. In the wall is a large square hole, to serve as fulcrum for the smaller end of a squared tree-trunk, which forms the beam of the press. The upper side of the beam-end is fashioned so as to offer a good surface to the upper side of the hole, in every position of the moving beam. The larger end of the beam is traversed vertically by a screw-hole, in which the great wooden screw travels, with free point upwards, and lever-fitted shank downwards. The wide head of the screw carries a perforated board, from which a large block of stone is suspended by wooden tenons dovetailed into mortised sockets in its sides. The head of the screw revolves freely beyond the board in a cavity in the upper surface of the stone.

Consequently, when the apparatus is adjusted above a pile of bags of *πυρῆνα*, a forward turn of the screw lifts the stone from the ground, and brings its full weight into play at the end of the long lever. This arrangement, though the maximum pressure is reached at once, when the stone is lifted, and can never be very great, is free from the danger of excessive strain, to which a timber-frame press is liable, in which unlimited pressure can be applied directly by the screw.

Such oil-presses were formerly common in Kalymnos, but only two survive. In the figure (Fig. 1) the whole of the woodwork is drawn from that of the modern press of Arginúnta; but the bed of the press is that from Emporiò.

An almost identical press is described by Carsten Niebuhr (*Reisen* 1. p. 151, Pl. XVII. D.) as being in use in Egypt: the only difference being that the solid beam is replaced by a substantial box (practically a hollow girder), which is filled with stones to give additional weight.

II.

The *Ancient Method* closely resembled that which is still in use, as may be inferred from the literary sources, and from the following fresh data.

(1) Monolithic troughs for grinding the olives are to be seen in the Milesian territory, *e.g.* two seen by W. R. P. (22 Sept., 1893) on the road between Yeronda (BRANCHIDAE) and Akkeui (v. map[2]). But they have not been noted near the oil-presses of Karia and Kalymnos which are described below, though they are an essential part of the apparatus for every known process of extraction. It is curious also that no presses have been seen

[1] W. R. P. writes from Kalymnos (31 Oct. 1896) that even this example has been converted into a more modern type.

[2] *J.H.S.* xvi. Pl. X.

associated with these troughs, but it is possible that some of them may represent the prototype of the Anatolian tread-press described above; on the other hand, the press-beds *may* have been of wood. These Milesian troughs are found in a region which is now quite denuded of its olive-trees, on sites which are so thickly strewn with pottery that they must have been occupied during a long period. Unfortunately no pottery of characteristic styles has yet been noted on these sites, and much might very well be medieval.

(2) Actual oil-presses have been observed on several sites: the most important are as follows:—

(*a*) On a roughly fortified summit in the Menteshè valley on the north-east side of Latmos, a large flat stone was found by W. R. P. *in situ* at a short distance from the wall of the building or enclosure. The dimensions of the block, which is represented in figure 2, were L. 2·5 m. × B. 2·4. m. In the middle of one of the shorter sides a rectangular projection was left, level with the top of the block, about 0·4 m. broad, and standing out 0·2 m. from the side. In the top of this a deep channel of 0·15 m. diameter was cut, so that the projection served as a spout. The channel was continued to meet a

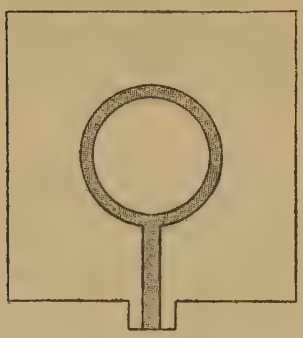

Fig. 2.—Press Bed from the Menteshè Valley in Karia.

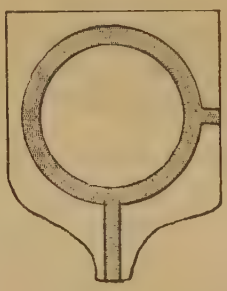

Fig. 3.—Press Bed from Senam el-Ragud in Tripoli.

Fig. 4.—Press Bed from Emporiò in Kalymnos.

circular channel of the same dimensions cut in the top of the block, nearly in the centre, but a little towards the side of the radial channel. The spout and channel were directed *away* from the wall of the enclosure above mentioned; and in this wall, exactly in the same line with it, was a horizontal hole 0·60 m. high, 0·40 m. wide, and 0·36 deep from the face of the masonry. Its structure shows that it was intended to hold a large beam, and that the beam was intended to resist a thrust either from above or from below. In Fig. 3 is represented an essentially similar stone from a Roman site *Senam el-Ragud* in the African Tripoli; figured by H. Swainson Cowper, *Antiquary*, Feb. 1896. = *The Hill of the Graces* (1897), p. 149, and described by him as an 'altar' of prehistoric date.

It can hardly be doubted that we have here the press-bed of an ancient olive-press. The bag of crushed olives, which must in this instance have been

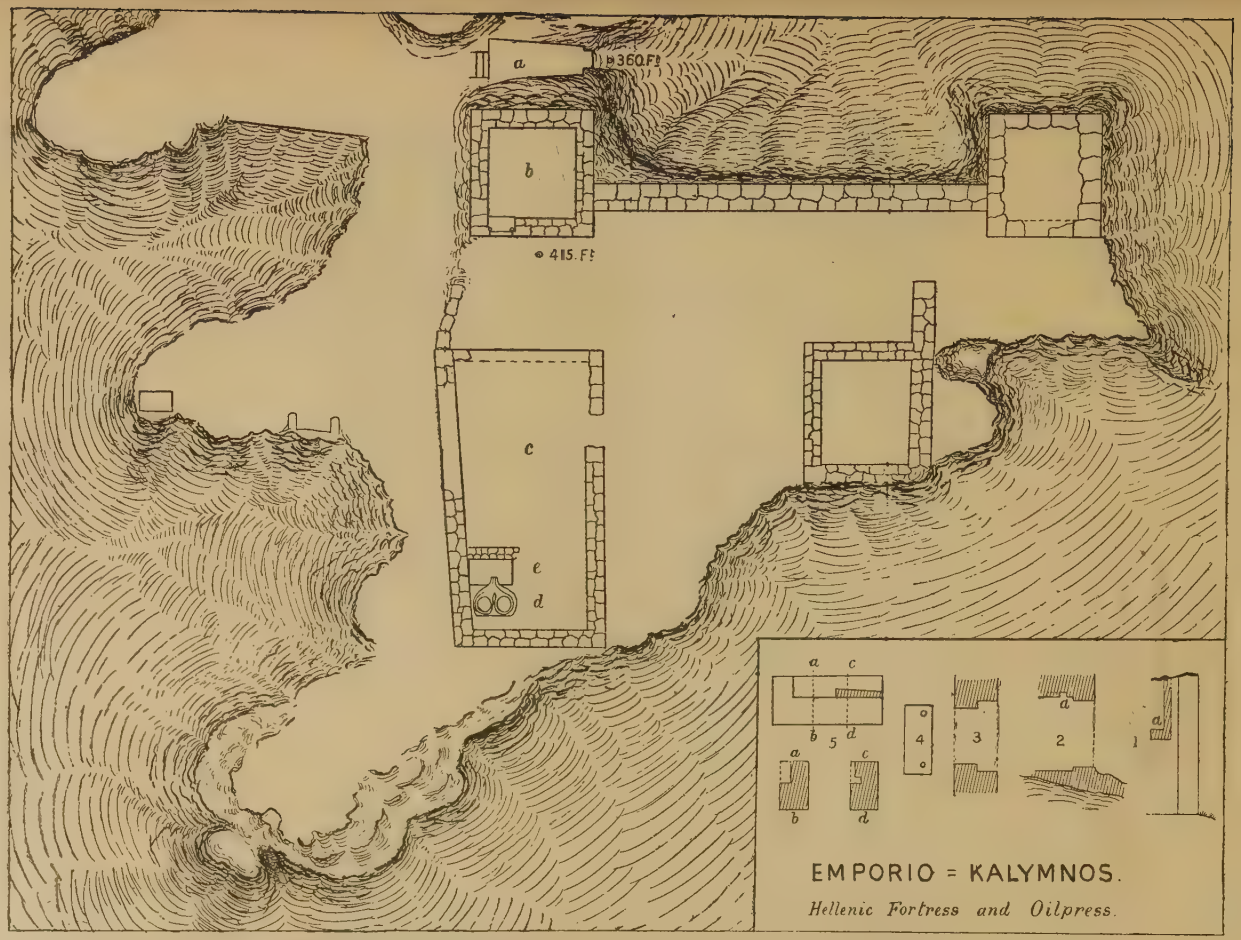

FIG. 5.—HELLENIC FORTRESS AND OILPRESS AT EMPORIÒ IN KALYMNOS.

a. rock cut gateway (cf. *details* 1 and 2): *b*. tower with door on the inner side: *c*. press-room: *d*. press-bed (cf. Fig. 4 above): *e*. cistern into which the oil should flow from the press.

Details.—1. elevation of the rock cut jamb of the gateway, *a*. to left on entering, with bar-socket *a*: 2. plan of the same gateway: 3. plan of the doorway of the tower *b*: 4. stone threshold lying near: 5. another door-jamb with bar-socket: side view, and sections *a*—*b*: *c*—*d*. [*The shaded parts in* 1 *and* 5 *are the bar-sockets.*]

single, and very large, would be placed within the circular channel, and the receptacle for the crude oil beneath the spout. The hole in the wall would receive the fulcrum end of the great lever; while the power would be applied to the free end, beyond the oil vessel. In this instance, however, it is not clear by what means the power was applied.

(β) A similar press-bed was noted by W. R. P. in the same neighbourhood, and here also there was a hole in the wall, in the same position.

(γ) The press-bed at Azajik near Myndos, indicated in our plan (*J. H. S.* xvi. p. 206, Fig. 6) lies, not as at Menteshè and Emporiò inside the fortified enclosure, but outside the gate. It has one large circular channel with a spout, and closely resembles those from Menteshè.

(δ) A more elaborate oil-press, approximating even more closely to the modern type, was found by W. R. P. in a fortified[1] enclosure at Emporiò in Kalymnos, of which the plan is given in Fig. 5, and a drawing of the press-bed in Fig. 4. The building (c) which contains the press is oblong, with the

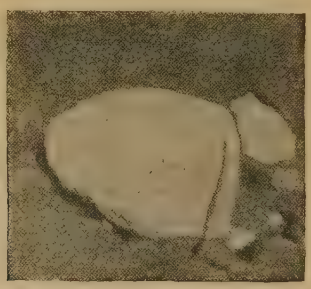

Fig. 6.

door in one of the long sides. The press stands at the further end of the opposite side. The bed of the press (d) is a heart-shaped stone, with a pair of circular bases like that of the Menteshè press, but surrounded by channels which widen and then converge into a common spout. Below the spout is a permanent tank (e) for the oil, oblong in form, and bounded on its further side by a strong wall of masonry, which probably served some purpose in connection with the press. The whole press presents the closest analogies to the Menteshè presses above described; and there is no reason to believe that it is of other date than that of the fort, which is of the fourth or third century B.C.

(ϵ) A press-bed of very simple type, Fig. 6, was recently excavated by peasants on the acropolis of Lykastos (modern Astrítza) in central Crete, and examined in 1895 by J. L. M. In this case the upper surface of the stone is completely hollowed into a shallow flat-bottomed trough of ovoid outline, with the spout at the pointed end: small channels are cut in the bottom to

[1] We know no special reason why these presses are so frequently associated with fortified sites. That at Emporiò, as the plan shows, can hardly have been a mere place of residence.

direct the oil towards the opening. The absence of a central platform for the bag of olives seems to indicate an earlier, at all events a less advanced, type of press, even than that of the Menteshè press.[1] It is difficult to explain both the large diameter, and the circular shape of the press-beds from Menteshè and Emporiò: that at Arginúnta is oblong, and this is the common modern form. The facts also, that they are of stone, and so much larger in area than the modern press beds, and that no grinding troughs have been found near them, perhaps indicate that they were employed also, with a cylindrical roller, for the preliminary crushing. This view was also expressed to W. R. P. by the experienced workman who remodelled the press at Arginúnta; and in

Fig. 7.

the modern domestic oil-mills of the African Tripoli a raised cylindrical pedestal of 6—8 feet diameter built of rubble, with a slightly concave upper surface paved with hard stones, is used in a similar fashion, the olives being bruised under a roller, which is usually a fragment of a granite column.

(ζ) Mr. Cecil Smith has kindly permitted the publication of yet another type of press-bed (Fig. 7) photographed by him at Klimatovúni in Melos, near the site of the Hellenic town. The stone is much damaged, but appears to

[1] Cf. the even ruder, and spoutless troughs, figured in Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell-el-Hesy*, p. 55 (from *Somerah*), p. 58 (from *Wady Dômeh*); and described by him as washing troughs.

have been rectangular; the trough is circular, and well worked, with a flat bottom and no central pedestal. The drain is in the rim at one side. The stone bears, round the rim of the trough, in well-cut sixth century Melian letters the inscription Εὐρυανακτιδᾶν, doubtless the name of the family to whom the press belonged. The inscription has been published by M. Holleaux, *B.C.H.* II. (1878), p. 521; who, however, failed to recognise the purpose of the block, and defends the erroneous reading Εὐρυαμακτιδᾶν. It will be found under No. 36 in Hiller von Gaertringen's forthcoming volume of the Island inscriptions.

(3) The mechanism by which the power was applied is not indicated in any of the above examples.

(*α*) A stone with two sockets (Fig. 5, No. 4) which lay near the oil-press at Emporiò, may perhaps represent the clamped stone which weights the screw

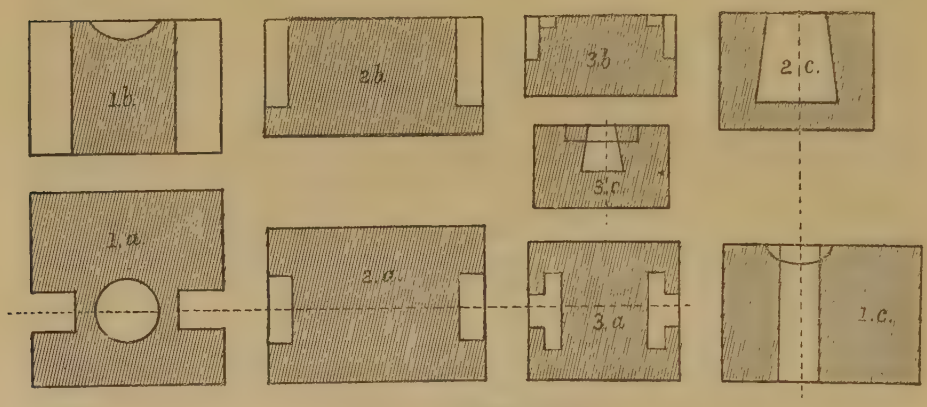

Fig. 8.—Weightstones.

1. *a.*—*c.* from Kalloni in Lesbos: 2 *a.*—*c.* from Arginúnta: 3 *a.*—*c.* from Amorgos. In each case *a*=top view, *b*=longitudinal section, *c*=end view.

at Arginúnta: but it is without close parallel, either ancient or modern, and looks much more like a common type of door-sill.

(*β*) A stone, however, photographed by J. L. M. in Amorgos in 1893 (Fig. 8, No. 3) corresponds very closely with that at Arginúnta. The dovetailed sockets for the suspension beams are clearly visible; the size and general proportions are nearly the same as in the Kalymniote example; and it was found close to a building of similar appearance and date to that at Emporiò, one section of which seemed to have been used as a vat or cistern. The press-bed, however, was not to be seen, and the walls were too far destroyed to leave any sign of a beam-hole.

It still remains to be shown whether the Amorgine stone was attached to a screw, or was raised by tackle so as to bear upon the end of the beam: but the close likeness between the two stones suggests that the whole mechanism was of the same type in both cases.

An essentially identical stone, from Kasr Semana in Tripoli, is figured by Mr. Swainson Cowper,[1] and others are frequent on the sites of the Roman oil-factories throughout that district.

(γ) An even closer parallel is given by a stone found by W. R. P. on the west shore of the Gulf of Kalloni in Lesbos (Fig. 8, No. 1). In this the grooves in the sides are not mortised, but run with parallel edges down the whole side; so that the stone must have been set in a regular frame. On the other hand, the hollow in the upper surface, to receive the screw-head, is a detail which is wanting in the example from Amorgos. This example is unsymmetrical, a peculiarity which still needs explanation; but perhaps the stone has been mutilated.

(δ) The stones figured in Koldewey's *Lesbos*, p. 35, etc. and pronounced by him to be parts of wine-presses, are perhaps also from oil-presses of the same type.

W. R. Paton.
J. L. Myres.

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[1] *Antiquary*, Feb. 1896. = *Hill of the Graces* (1897), p. 150.

A SUGGESTED CHARACTERISTIC IN THUKYDIDES' WORK.

THE matter of this paper has been a subject of consideration with me for some time past, and I venture to put forward the conclusion I have arrived at, not because I consider it to be a certain one, but as possibly affording a working hypothesis providing an explanation of what has been to me, and may have been to others, an obscure and difficult point. That the subject demands the earnest attention of those who study Thukydides will, I think, be generally admitted, and this, together with the fact that I have formed the conclusion on a certain amount of first-hand experience, may afford some excuse for the publication of my views.

The vast majority of the incidents in the Peloponnesian War are treated by Thukydides with great brevity, in some cases with a brevity disproportionate to their importance. There are, however, according to the ordinary acceptation, *three* incidents into which he enters with a peculiar and striking amount of detail.

(1) The Siege of Plataea.
(2) The operations at Pylos and Sphakteria.
(3) The Siege of Syracuse.

I say 'according to the ordinary acceptation' advisedly, because I venture to think that there are really *four* narratives, viz. :—

(1) The Siege of Plataea.
(2) The Siege of Pylos.
(3) The Siege of Sphakteria.
(4) The Siege of Syracuse.

i.e. thus (2) in the original list consists of two different stories.

I came to that conclusion in 1895 after an examination of the region of Pylos and Sphakteria, on the intrinsic evidence of the story as compared with the site, but I had not then had time to take a comprehensive view of the general problems which the story of Plataea, which I examined in 1892–3, taken with the Pylos-Sphakteria narrative, presented.

The first consideration that naturally suggests itself in reference to the matter is that these incidents upon which Thukydides enlarges in so noticeable a manner are all of them narratives of sieges. It would on the face of it seem likely that there was some special reason for this. Furthermore there is at least one noticeable omission from the list—the siege of Potidaea, which, though of such importance and magnitude, is dealt with in his history with far less detail.

A second consideration on the general question is that Thukydides was an historian contemporary with the events which he describes. It must almost necessarily be the case that the interests of such an historian should be less wide than those of one who is writing, like Herodotus, for example, of events which are past to him. He must necessarily be affected by the interests of his audience, an audience, in the first instance, contemporary with the events which he is describing. To every audience the interest must lie mainly in that which is novel to it, meaning thereby everything which differs from the wonted circumstances of their life. The criticism may not be original, but I think that it is to this that we must ascribe the peculiar limitation which Thukydides places upon the subject matter of his story. His history is a narrative of incidents rather than of institutions, whether political or social, because in the latter the contemporary historian would find little or nothing save what would be perfectly well known to a contemporary audience. Regarding his work as a military history some of his most noticeable omissions must, I think, be attributed to this fact. He tells us, for example, practically nothing of the Athenian army system, and but little of the naval organisation, simply, I take it, because these things were institutions so well known to the readers for whom he immediately wrote, that the account of them was not likely to excite much interest, nay, would rather add an unattractive feature to his work.

Even if we knew nothing of the military history of the period preceding that in which and of which Thukydides wrote, we might then perhaps suspect from the elaboration of detail with which this contemporary historian deals with these four cases of siege operations that there was something in this department of it which was peculiarly novel: that the operations relative to the attack and defence of fortified places had entered on a new phase of development within the limits of the historian's own personal experience. Fortunately we possess evidence of this being the case.[1]

To the student of Greek history, there are, I venture to think, few questions which so frequently and persistently call for consideration and solution, as the contrast which is presented in the military history of the fifth century between, on the one hand, the peculiar strength of the natural positions which the character of the country afforded for the Acropolis of its towns both great and small, and, on the other, the peculiar incapacity which the typical Greek army displayed in the attack on such places. The dilemma becomes more striking still when we consider the most prominent individual case among Greek armies, the Spartan, whose reputation for incapacity in this respect was notorious. And yet, in spite of this, this very army was able to maintain the hegemony of its country over a large part of Greece, thickly sown with fortifications of great natural strength. In attacking these, its only method was blockade. Nor were the other prominent

[1] The *earliest* example in the Greek world, and this is by no means fully authenticated, is the reported use of siege engines by Perikles at the siege of Samos, *v.* Diod. xii. 28 and Plut. *Perik.* 27. Both passages are from Ephoros.

Greek armies, at any rate until the time of the Peloponnesian War, really in advance of the Lacedaemonians in this respect. The Athenians had indeed a reputation that way, but it was evidently the reputation of the one-eyed among the blind, of those who know little, among those who know nothing. Such details as we have of the siege of Potidaea show that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Athenians were not far advanced in the science of attack on fortified places. The old passive system of blockade is the one adopted, and though it is in the end effective, the cost is enormous.

The question naturally arises—how is it that the Greeks, after a long and frequent experience of warfare with one another, had never carried this special branch of the art to a higher pitch of development than that at which we find it at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War? Furthermore how did it come about that a state like Sparta, in spite of its notorious incompetence in this department, was able, in face of what was at times the most serious opposition, to exercise the strong political influence which it exercised over neighbouring states whose towns were provided with all but impregnable Acropolis? The answer to this question seems to me to lie in the special nature of the land of Greece south of the Kithaeron-Parnes line.

It is hardly necessary to say that the major portion of the area of this part of the country consists of mountains incapable not merely of cultivation but of affording aught but meagre pasturage. Interspersed among these mountains there are indeed plains of great fertility, but of very small extent compared with the area of the uncultivable land, and on the produce of these plains the population of those states which had not facilities for foreign trade was absolutely dependent. It is quite certain that in that part of Greece south of the Kithaeron-Parnes line the amount of cultivable land, rich though it was, was not more than enough, if enough, to support the then population of the region, and in the case of Attica the inhabitants had long been dependent on the supply of foreign corn. This special characteristic must of necessity be true of every mountainous country, but it is peculiarly true of Greece.

It was this fact that rendered it easy for a force unskilled in siege operations to keep control over the country south of Kithaeron, and more especially over the Peloponnese. City states such as Tegea and Mantineia for example, if disposed to kick against the pricks of the Spartan hegemony, could always be brought to order by defeat in the field. And Sparta could *force* them to take the field. It is perfectly true that, had they shut themselves up in the Acropolis of their towns, the Spartan army could have done them but little personal injury. But they could not afford to do this. In the first place there can have been no appreciable surplus of food supply, especially in the early summer, the beginning of the campaigning season, wherewith to provision an acropolis against a prolonged blockade. But more than this. They could not afford to leave their year's crop to be ravaged and destroyed by an army in the country. That would have meant possible starvation in the coming winter, without even the prospect of being able to obtain some sort of supply from

their neighbours, who themselves would require all the food stuff they could grow. The average Greek state, then, when invaded by a hostile army, had to take the field with its own force and match hoplite against hoplite in the open, and in this department of the art of war the professional army of Sparta was infinitely superior to the unprofessional citizen soldiery of her neighbours.

North of Kithaeron the natural circumstances of the country are different, though not in direct contrast to those south of that line until the great plain of Thessaly is reached. Still, what is true of Thessaly is partially true of Boeotia. The typical Greek army in Thessaly was like a fish out of water. It had to meet circumstances for which it was wholly unadapted. The extensive fertile plains of that country permitted of the use of cavalry, in which arm the typical Greek army was wholly deficient, and furnished so large a supply of food stuff, and so large an area of cultivation, that its fortified places could be provisioned against a long blockade, and could afford, too, to see a part of their land ravaged. The form of pressure which Sparta could employ in Arkadia would be ineffective in Thessaly, for the devastation of a large area of country is a work of months, not days, nor even weeks—a fact not always recognised, but of which the history of the invasions of Attica during the Peloponnesian War supplies conspicuous proof. We can see this cause, amongst others, at work in determining the history of such districts as Boeotia and Elis. The natural circumstances of these countries placed them in respect to a food supply in a position more approximating to that of Thessaly than to that of the poorer territories. Consequently, though not wholly safe-guarded against external pressure, they were much less open to it in the form in which, for instance, Sparta exercised it.

The reputation of Athens among the Greeks at the time of the Persian War in the attack on strong places, though evidently but ill deserved, was very possibly due to the fact that in her frontier wars with Boeotia she had been brought face to face with circumstances in siege operations in which passive blockade would be more or less ineffective, and she may well have been forced in attacking Boeotian border towns to employ something of the nature of active operations.

But by the time of the Peloponnesian War a new factor had arisen in Greek warfare which had, in the circumstances of the time, very seriously curtailed the effectiveness of the old method of blockade. The genius of Themistokles had devised, and the foresightedness of Perikles had brought to completion, the great linked fortress of Athens-Piraeus. Blockade of so extensive a fortification by land would have been almost impossible, and would be in any case useless unless the highway of the sea could be closed. No amount of devastation of their territory could force the possessors of such a stronghold to take the field against their will and to risk all on a battle in the open. Even among the Spartans there were men of ability who were quite able to appreciate the extent of the possibilities which this new invention, thus carried out, opened in Greek warfare. Archidamos' speech as reported in the first book of Thukydides is sufficient evidence on that point. Here was Sparta's great rival occupying a home territory in which, owing to

the poverty of the land, the old system of blockade should have been peculiarly effective, in possession of an engine which would render that system null and void. Others might well follow her example, and if so, the days of the Spartan hegemony were numbered.

In Attica itself, the Athens-Piraeus fortress rendered it possible moreover for Athens to maintain adequately the defence of other strong places in the country, such as Oinoë, Phyle, and Dekeleia, since, owing to their nearness to the great central fortress, it would not be difficult to supply them also with the sea-borne provisions, the obtaining of which the possession *of the great fortress*, backed by a powerful fleet, rendered so easy. The details which Thukydides gives us of the attack on Oinoë in the first invasion of Attica by Archidamos seem to suggest that Perikles' original plan in the Peloponnesian War included the occupation of certain strong places outside Athens-Piraeus itself. There is no doubt that this part of his design, if it ever existed, was subsequently modified. I would suggest, however, that this *did* form part of the original design, and that the subsequent modification was due, partly, at any rate, to the fact that Perikles and the Athenians suddenly discovered that the eyes of the Spartans had been opened to the necessity of adopting a plan of siege operations in accordance with the new conditions which the fortification of Athens-Piraeus had imposed on the enemies of Athens. It must have been a severe shock to the military authorities in Athens itself to find that slow-moving Sparta had stolen a march in military science on their own enterprising state. That is evidently what had taken place. If Thukydides' evidence as to the war debate at Sparta be reliable, and he had ample opportunity of discovering in later years the outlines of what then took place, we must conclude that there did then exist in Sparta itself an able minority, led by Archidamos, who were capable of forming a just estimate of the chances and necessities of the coming war. They apparently saw that under the then present conditions Athens was practically invulnerable, if merely the old methods were employed, and so they introduced into Greek warfare in Greece an innovation, which, rightly learnt and rightly employed, offered a possible prospect of a decisive result. It was not rightly learnt, nor was it rightly employed, as the details of the siege of Plataea show us, but nevertheless it was an innovation which offered great possibilities. Whence the Greeks and especially the Spartans learnt the new system of attack we cannot perhaps say with confidence, but there is reason to suppose that the idea of it was introduced into Greece from Sicily.

The point, however, on which I wish to insist is that *active* siege operations in any form were a novelty to the generation in which Thukydides lived, and as such were just the sort of matter which would be seized upon by the contemporary historian as providing a subject which could hardly fail to interest his immediate audience.

It is to this cause that I would attribute the fact that Thukydides chose these four incidents of the Peloponnesian War as subjects for detailed descriptions.

But there is a further point that is noticeable with regard to the subjects chosen.

The sieges described are in no two cases of the same kind. They resemble one another in being all of them *active* attacks on or defences of places fortified by nature, or by art, or by both, but there this resemblance ceases.

Plataea is a case of a siege of an inland town of considerable strength of position with permanent fortification.

Pylos is an example of the siege of a position of great natural strength defended by improvised works.

Sphakteria of the siege of an island without artificial defence, but, owing to the peculiar difficulty of landing upon it, and therefore of attacking it, a naturally strong position.

Syracuse is an example of the siege of a great maritime town.

In respect to diversity the examples are well chosen. There are, however, two other characteristics of these narratives which may or may not be taken as significant.

(1) In the three cases chosen in which some artificial form of defence is employed, the attack is a failure.

(2) In all four cases the superiority of the attacking party either in respect to numbers, or, in the case of Syracuse, in respect to military preparation, equipment, and experience is represented, either by implication or by direct statement, as being most marked.

As I have already said, I have had the opportunity of examining three of these narratives on the spot, viz. those of Plataea, Pylos, and Sphakteria. The reports of those examinations I have published, and with the exception of the modification of one view expressed with regard to the blocking of the harbour entrances at Pylos [which has also been published], I have not since seen reason to change my views in any one particular.

The result of these examinations is that I have not found a single statement of fact in either narrative which is not either wholly or partially confirmed by the circumstances observable at the present day. I do not mean to say that Thukydides was infallible. What I mean is that he *did* get good information, though I have had occasion to point out that owing to his not being personally acquainted with the ground of which he was writing, he was liable to misapply his information.

Thus far I am merely stating personal views which I have already expressed. I now pass on to other considerations of a more widely reaching and therefore more difficult kind on which I did not at the time of the publication of my papers venture to state an opinion.

The impression of truth of detail which these narratives conveyed to me, was accompanied by an impression, which I could not dismiss, that the historian had deliberately, without any departure from truth of fact, intended to convey to the reader a general idea in all these cases, of operations on a much greater scale than might be deduced from a *close* and *critical* consideration of the narrative of events which he gives.

This idea is conveyed with marvellous art. It is impossible to point to any single detail in any one of the narratives to say 'This is a distinct case of exaggeration.' I believe that in any single instance in which a reader attempted to bring such a charge against any single passage, it would be seen that the historian might fairly retort 'The exaggeration is not in what I state, but in the meaning you attach to my statement.'

I will take as an example the narrative of Plataea. I know that the impression which that tale creates in the mind of the ordinary, and not perhaps critical, reader of Thukydides is that it is an account of siege operations of considerable magnitude conducted, at any rate on the side of the attack, by a considerable force. One need only read Müller-Strübing and those who take similar views on this question to see that this impression is by no means confined to the uncritical student.

I have already said that I fully admit that it is conveyed. But the real questions with regard to it are, as it seems to me:—

(*a*) How is it conveyed?

(*b*) Is it deliberately conveyed? and if so, why?

Thukydides tells us that he aimed at getting hold of the facts of history and at stating them truthfully. Taking him as we find him, it is exceedingly unlikely that a writer of such marked intellectual acuteness would, after making such a positive statement, have allowed, in cases in which he wished to go a little beyond the truth, the fact of his so doing to be plain on the face of it. This is noticeably the case in the Plataea narrative. Thukydides, if impeached on the score of exaggeration in that narrative, would have a terribly strong defence, and would have no reason to fear to enter the witness box for examination and cross-examination. Could such a charge be proved in face of the defence that the historian expressly states that Plataea was 'not a large place' and that the number of defenders was 480 in all? The exaggeration is too artful, too impalpable, to be laid hold of by any ordinary means of extracting evidence. Yet the mere fact that the story has conveyed a wrong impression to generation after generation of readers is sufficient proof that the exaggeration is existent in it, though in a form hardly susceptible to literary analysis. It is the 'Krypton' in the air of the story.

Its effectiveness is due to the natural tendency of readers in all ages all the world over to take the most obvious conclusion as being the only conclusion possible. Into this literary trap the writer could reckon on his readers falling. The demonstrable exaggeration is in what is implied, not in what is stated, and yet after all the demonstrability of even this form of exaggeration rests on the strictly unsound basis that the most obvious implication is the most true or even the only true one. To take the most noticeable instances of this in the Plataea story. Thukydides never informs us of the number of the army which Archidamos took with him to the siege of Plataea. It is true, of course, that he does not tell us the actual number of the Peloponnesian armies which in previous years had invaded Attica, though he does tell us that in the first instance the army consisted of two-thirds of the effective

of the various allies, *i.e.* its numbers must have amounted to many thousands. Does Thukydides mean to imply by his language in ii. 71.—['The following summer the Peloponnesians and the allies did not invade Attica, but marched against Plataea. Archidamos the son of Zeuxidamos, king of the Lakedaemonians, was in command.']—that this army was equal in numbers to the invading armies of previous years? I am inclined to think that he does and he does not. He is quite willing to give the impression of magnitude without in any way committing himself. That he has succeeded in so doing is evidenced by the interpretation which modern writers have put, not upon his words, but upon his silence. Numbers varying from 60,000 to 120,000 have been seriously put forward as the probable size of the besieging force, and, it need hardly be added, that on such premisses most destructive arguments have been founded as to the credibility of the historian. It is perhaps unnecessary to say (1) that such numbers are absurd on the face of them, and (2) that the historian says nothing which could in any strict sense be taken to imply numbers so huge, or indeed numbers in any way resembling them. Let us consider for one moment what the attack and defence of Plataea meant to either side.

From a negative point of view its possession by the Peloponnesians was of the utmost importance to them. It all but blocked the land communications of the allies of the League north of Kithaeron with those to the south of that line, save when Attica was in occupation of the Peloponnesian army. I have elsewhere had occasion to point out that there are only two passages across this range from the north which do not debouch on Attic territory, viz. that very difficult route round the west end of the range to Aegosthena, and the pass on the Plataea-Megara road. The latter was blocked, practically, by Plataea: the former was too difficult to be really useful. This fact must have been apparent from the very beginning of the war to the leading commanders of the Peloponnesian League. There can be no doubt that the Thebans saw it, and we may attribute the attempted surprise of Plataea to their apprehension of the part the town might play in the war which was imminent. Archidamos seems to have been aware of it, too, and the very first measure he took in the war aimed at its reduction. In Thuk. ii. 18, the historian describes the first invasion of Attica. He tells us that Archidamos first led the League army against Oinoë and besieged the place. Why of all places in west Attica should he attack Oinoë first? It lay right out of the way of an army invading the country from the side of the Megarid, via the route which would naturally be taken, *i.e.* via the Thriasian plain. *But*, as those who know Attica will recognize, as indeed may be recognized from a map of the country, it commanded the only road from Athens to Plataea. He did not take the place, and therefore he had for strategic reasons to postpone the attack on Plataea, until experience had shown him that nothing would induce Perikles to risk his land force beyond the walls of Athens. Then and then only could he afford to ignore Oinoë, a small place in itself, which could only become formidable to a force besieging Plataea in case the Athenian main army chose to march out and use it as a

base of operations against those engaged against the town. When an unmistakable indisposition to do this was displayed by the Athenians, *then*, and not till then, did he undertake the siege.

It would be difficult, then, to overestimate the value of Plataea to either side, and it is unlikely that Archidamos would employ a force inadequate for the siege of it. But it was not a large place, as Thukydides tells us, and the defending force amounted to only 480 men. It is exceedingly unlikely that large contingents would be drawn from the allies for an operation which could in reasonable expectation be accomplished by a comparatively small percentage of the whole disposable force of the League. There were very forcible reasons for not employing more men than were absolutely necessary. For several years past large percentages of the able-bodied male population of the Peloponnese had been taken away at a time of year when they could very ill be spared from the harvest, a most serious disadvantage, we may say an insuperable disadvantage, to a population dependent entirely on the products of their country. The disadvantage was all the greater at a time when a more or less effective blockade of the Peloponnese rendered the importation of foreign food stuffs difficult. On the hard probabilities of the case there is far more reason for supposing that the force which Archidamos commanded at Plataea was a small one, amounting at most to a few thousands, than that it was one of considerable size. There is even some reason for supposing that the enterprise may have been but little appreciated at Sparta, and the support accorded to it but lukewarm. The authorities there seem to have been just as incapable at this time as at others of forming any just estimate based on large views of policy or of strategy. It is, for example, impossible to fail to see the correctness of the estimate of the chances of the war as sketched in Archidamos' speech at Sparta, yet his views, in spite of his high position, found apparently but few supporters. His object in the attack on Oinoë was completely misunderstood, and the attack itself much blamed, so much unappreciated indeed that Thukydides in his inquiries into the Peloponnesian side of the war some years later seems not to have heard aught of the design which Archidamos entertained, manifest though it is. Archidamos appears to have been of a capacity and insight far above the average of that of his race.

Thukydides, and indeed, the Athenians of his time, must have had a pretty clear idea of the magnitude of the army which engaged in the siege of Plataea, viz. that it was not a huge host such as has been imagined by later writers on the subject, but a comparatively small force suited to the demands of the situation, both as regards the requirements of the attack itself, and also as regards the circumstances of those states from whom the army was drawn. Nor is there a word in Thukydides' narrative of the siege which would *necessarily* convey any other impression. So far the story was for the *immediate* audience, the contemporary audience. But there was another audience which the writer could not forget, the audience of the future: *κτῆμα τε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.* For them the case was different. The novel feature in the art of Greek warfare

would not be merely an interest to contemporaries, but, if properly set forth, an interest to future generations as first examples of a new introduction into that always interesting department of history, military history. To be effective the examples must be varied and striking, and to be so, must give an impression of scale. With the sole exception of Syracuse the examples which lay to the historian's hand were not great in actual scale, and the impression had to be created artificially. And so it was created. A certain amount of artistic reserve was introduced into the narrative: the historian abided by the strict truth in every positive statement he made, but by a certain amount of negative repression created a general impression of magnitude which the positive statements did not in reality support. Had he not said: *οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἢν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ᾖ, ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων δέχονται*?

In what relation, then, does the story stand to the strict truth? In some such relation, I take it, as the type stands to the individual. The historian wished to create a type of this special kind of siege conducted after the new fashion. His very aim necessitated that the actual incidents should be placed before his readers in what he judged to be their typical form; his art consists in having done this rather by the creation of impression, than by deviation from the actual truth.

This characteristic of the method employed by the historian is not less striking when the details of the Plataea story are taken into consideration. An examination of the theatre of events must convince the inquirer that there is a solid basis of truth at the bottom of every one of them, and yet in each case there is an impression of magnitude conveyed which a strict examination of what is stated does not support. Even the tale of the mound, and of the works undertaken by the besiegers to counteract it, is peculiarly supported by the natural circumstances of the ground. It is the impression which it conveys which has led to discredit being cast upon it by modern criticism. But whatever the scale on which the operations were conducted, the general character of them, and the variation of method employed are peculiarly interesting at this stage in the history of Greek warfare. There was a combination of the old and the new fashion of attack. Of the new fashion I have no doubt that Archidamos was the champion, and that his advocacy had to meet a stubborn opposition from the preponderant conservative element in the army. Hence the new method never got a real trial, and in so far as it was employed seemed a failure. At the same time it is impossible to read the military history of this time without seeing that the opposition to the new system was not necessarily the only cause of its failure in this instance. We must take into account the inexperience of those who were now putting it into operation for, what was to them probably, the first time. Furthermore the Greek soldier of this period, unless led by a Brasidas, was not conspicuous for dash, and dash was required for the taking by assault of a place such as Plataea, manned by a garrison animated with the courage of despair. The new method was the first employed, the stockades being, no doubt, a concession on the part of Archidamos to military conservatism.

The new method was a failure, and the old method of circumvallation was resorted to.

For my present purpose I have said all I wish to say about the Plataea narrative, save this in summary. As a narrative, it seems to me a model of artistic acuteness. The writer, great artist as he is, has drawn for us a word picture which conveys, and which he intended should convey, an impression greater than his subject.

The Pylos-Sphakteria narratives partake of the character of the Plataea narrative, though they are not identical with it. I have already stated my belief that they are two stories, not one, and were really regarded as such by the historian, though they were contiguous in place and time. I expressed this view of the separate character of the narratives in a paper which appeared in the *Hellenic Journal* some two years and a half ago (Vol. xvi.), but I am afraid that the arguments by which I supported this theory were formed on bases of which the cogency would not be apparent to the classical scholar, whose attention is seldom directed to questions of physiography, and to whom, therefore, arguments founded on that basis do not appeal. Dr. Frazer, for example, in his recent edition of Pausanias, is quite severe with me on this question, evidently for the sole reason that he is unacquainted with the problems which physiography presents.

In so far as I am able to learn, those who are interested in ancient history have as a rule accepted the view that the lagoon of Osmyn Aga was existent in some form or other at the time of the events at Pylos and Sphakteria. Furthermore the view has been stated, though unsupported by evidence, that this lagoon was an integral portion of the bay, *i.e.* that the sand-bar did not exist to any practical extent. So simple a statement, which everybody can understand, is sure to find acceptors. It has the further advantage of leaving the criticism on the historical character of the narrative much where it found it, viz. Thukydides made certain gross errors, as Arnold and others have pointed out, and, as to their explanation, you are free to adopt any you like. This last-mentioned method of working out the problem has the merit of simplicity and freedom, and is therefore attractive. For myself, I am convinced that those who attempt to work out the problem on these premisses are labouring at lost labour. I am also convinced that this fact must be recognized by the majority of students of ancient history, if only the matter be stated in a comprehensible form, avoiding, as much as possible, pure technicalities. I will therefore state the opposing view, and put in as clear a form as possible what seem to me the overwhelming reasons for it, and against the contending theory.

The view is simply this: that at the time at which the events at Pylos took place the lagoon was much as it is now, save (1) that the sand-bar had not yet extended quite up to Pylos itself, *i.e.* there was still a channel at the west end of it, and (2) that the water, at any rate in the west end of the lagoon, was deeper than it is at the present day.

I am re-stating the reasons for this view, because I feel that, in my original paper, I did not perhaps put the matter in a form which would be comprehensible to every student of the subject.

The reasons are as follows :—

(1) The area in the neighbourhood of the bay where detritus has been deposited is for all practical purposes co-terminous with the present site of the lagoon and its immediate shores, [with the exception of the plain of Xerias on the east side of the bay, which has nothing to do with our present subject.]

(2) On this area the detritus brought into the north part of the bay by the action of rain and streams has been deposited.

(3) The streams are small, and practically non-existent save in rainy weather.

(4) The formation of a sand or mud bar in the case of such deposits occurs, as can be seen all round the coasts of the Mediterranean, at a very early stage in the process of deposit.

(5) This process of deposit must have been going on ever since the bay of Navarino was formed.

Now I ask, is it conceivable that in the countless ages that intervened between the formation of this bay and the events at Pylos, this process had proceeded so slowly that this north end of the bay was still an integral part of it, whereas in the (geographically speaking) brief period which has intervened between those events and the present time, the lagoon has become a lagoon, *i.e.* at least half the work of deposit has been accomplished ?

There can be only one answer to this question : it is impossible, even absurd to suppose such a thing. The other theory is more simple, but it will never lead to any elucidation of the Pylos narrative, since it supposes a state of things which neither did exist, nor could have existed at that time. There were *two* harbours at Pylos at that time, if physiography can tell us aught on the subject, and there are two narratives in the history of the events at Pylos and Sphakteria, as given by Thukydides, and these two narratives refer, though the author never apprehended the fact, to two different harbours. For the purpose of the historian, writing, as he was, an essentially military history, the contiguity of the narratives in respect to time and place, was purely accidental. His aim was to create typical early examples of a new kind of siege operation, and events offered him the two examples in close proximity to one another. Pylos is practically ignored in the Sphakteria narrative. The two series of events were really separated in his intention.

It is not necessary here to point out in detail the effect which this 'two-narrative' theory has on the criticism of the whole 'Pylos-Sphakteria' story. I have already done this in the previous paper on the subject. It does, however, clear up much that is otherwise obscure in Thukydides' Pylos narrative, and the error in the story becomes attributable to a very natural mistake made by the author as to the identity of 'the harbour' of which his informants spoke, and not to his stupidity, the last defect, perhaps, of which those who know his work could suspect him. I cannot but be glad that the 'two-harbour' theory does elucidate the narrative, but, in any case, I say with conviction that whether it did or did not do so, it is, leaving the history

aside altogether, in reality not merely a theory, but a solid fact which students of Thukydides will have to take into account.

It is very difficult to say whether we have in these two narratives instances of suppressed exaggeration similar to those which are present in the Plataea story. The historian had better, *i.e.* larger material on which to erect his typical examples; and the desirability of increasing the scale of action for the writer's purpose, was not so evident. There is one feature present to which the Plataea story affords no parallel, namely the colouring of the tale in order to enhance the services of an individual, in this case Demosthenes. Thukydides had evidently a weakness for men of his type, who were ready to play for big stakes in the war game without reckoning the possible cost, but it need hardly be said that he carried his weakness at times too far, when he detracted from the merits of a rival in order to favour the object of his admiration. It seems to me that this is the only means of accounting for the way in which the historian treats what was perhaps the most brilliant incident in the two sieges, the surprise of the Peloponnesian fleet by Eurymedon and his colleague.

In the Pylos story there is one incident the account of which does not carry conviction with it; I refer to the tale of the attack from the sea side by Brasidas and his fleet. I have pointed out that of the two simultaneous attacks by the Peloponnesians, viz. this one by Brasidas, and the one on the north wall, Thukydides can only give us details of the former. He tells us that the total number of assailant vessels was forty-three, whereas Demosthenes had only sixty men with him. Even taking into account the difficulty of landing, I am strongly inclined to suspect some exaggeration here, either in the form of over-estimate of the numbers on one side, or under-estimate of those on the other. Perhaps the real fact is that the ships, though their number is correct, had only small complements on this occasion, a fact the author has studiously suppressed. At any rate it is noteworthy that we have here a numerical disproportion strangely resembling that at Plataea, and success is on the side of the infinitely weaker number in both cases. Was there an implied moral to the two stories? Was Thukydides a conservative in military matters?

There is, too, in the Sphakteria narrative a very possible example of the exaggeration of impression. Had all the ships which Kleon used for his disembarkation on the island had anything like their full complements the force landed would have been enormous.

In the case of Syracuse the need for exaggeration did not present itself: the operations were on a sufficient scale to provide an impressive example of the type of siege the author wished to create, though here the novelty was rather in the defence.

One word before I close this article. I have, as it will be seen, sought to explain two points in Thukydides' work :—

(1) The cause of his choice of subjects for peculiarly detailed narrative.

(2) Certain peculiarities in three out of the four stories.

The explanation seems to me to be :—

(1) He was ambitious to create typical examples of a novelty in the military art.

(2) To achieve his object satisfactorily he had certainly in one, possibly in three, out of the four instances to create an impression of scale where he did not find it existing.

G. B. GRUNDY.

BATTLES, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

Professor Burrows on Sphakteria.

In the last number of the *Hellenic Journal* Professor Burrows has once more attacked Pylos and Sphakteria, this time with the aid of certain allies from the Peloponnese and a whole battery of photographs. I am, I confess, loth to dye this ink-stained field a deeper hue, and I have certainly no intention of sending friends of mine to Pylos with a view to reviving a controversy which has gone far enough. At the same time I do not wish to appear to undervalue the evidence of Messrs. Carr Bosanquet, Crowfoot, and Lindsay, though it is not of a very decisive character. I should therefore like to point out, as briefly as possible, its true bearing, and in doing so I have the satisfaction of not having to treat it as hostile, though brought into court by the other side.

It is rather difficult to deal with Mr. Lindsay's evidence, as given by Professor Burrows, relating to the south end of Pylos. Had we had Mr. Lindsay's first-hand account of the matter, it would no doubt have been easier to understand. I do not understand it sufficiently in its present form to attempt to discuss it in detail. I see, however, that Professor Burrows now not only imagines a sand-spit at the south-east corner of Pylos, but even makes Demosthenes draw up his ships there; and further, refers to this imaginary sand-spit [against whose existence the physiographical evidence at present obtainable is very strong] the expression ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὔσης. How could these ships have escaped destruction in such a position, when the Peloponnesian fleet was in undisturbed possession of the harbour? Surely the fact that these ships remained undestroyed shows clearly that they were drawn up at some point where landing was *not* easy, *i.e.* at the south-west corner; and the fact that they were outside the wall, shows that the latter must have been back from the shore at this point.

The photographs which are appended to the article justify to an eminent degree the distrust with which I have always regarded such aids to topography. If it be merely a question of the appearance of an object which can be taken at a distance of a few yards, then, no doubt, the picture is of value, but to found arguments dealing with minute detail on such photographs as those numbered Fig. 1 and Fig. 4 in Prof. Burrows' article is simply misleading. Fig. 1 (of the south-east angle of Pylos) has at first sight all the

appearances of a photograph of a gradual slope. It is not until you examine it closely that you see how steep the slope is. No photograph taken from the front of a slope can ever give anyone who has not seen it a true appreciation of its angle. The foot of the slope appears relatively much nearer to the eye than the top of it, and consequently the slope itself appears much more gradual than it really is. The angle is, as a fact, 36°. Moreover I have used the term 'slope' for want of a better word. It is really in parts precipitous, and perhaps the word 'cliff' may be taken as more nearly describing it. Can Professor Burrows quote any example from the fifth century of a Greek force attempting, in face of opposition, an assault on such a slope, or on anything resembling it? Fig. 4, which gives the same in profile from above, exaggerates somewhat in the opposite direction, and as it is out of focus the detail is lost in a distance. Still either photograph will justify, in the eyes of those who are not accustomed to imagine the Greek hoplite as making his way over ground which a deer stalker would with difficulty climb, my assertion that the practicable approach at the south-east angle of Pylos was so narrow that, even if landing there had been easy, which does not seen to have been the case, a few men could have defended it against immensely superior numbers, and a wall was neither required nor built by Demosthenes there.[1] The existence of the Venetian tower and wall at this point dates, of course, from times when the sand-bar had reached the foot of the cliff, and therefore affords no argument for the necessities of the case 2,000 years before.

The value of photographs in topography depends, as I have said, altogether on the use which you are content to make of them. They are of value in giving those who have not seen ground a general impression as to its appearance. For minuter details, unless taken of objects a few yards from the camera, they are absolutely misleading to those who have not first-hand knowledge of the ground they represent.

The question of the blocking of the channels is dependent on a far larger question, the condition of the lagoon at the time the events on Pylos took place. I have expressed my views with sufficient clearness on this point in another article in this number of the *Journal*. I have not the slightest doubt that Thukydides had very good grounds for his repeated assertion with reference to the intended blocking. The difficulty to him was, and to us is, that he failed to recognize the existence of two sheets of water, both of which

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[1] Prof. Burrows on p. 149 of his article has quoted a long passage from a previous paper of mine, in which occur the words: 'at this south end of the east cliff, the summit of the cliff rises to a vertical height of sixty feet above its eastern foot, which is only at a horizontal distance of eighty-one feet from that summit.' Professor Burrows disposes of this remark by an appeal to the photograph, and says 'Comment is needless.' The effect of this criticism is unfortunately negatived by the fact that though he has quoted my actual words, he has misread them. He says the photograph shows in profile the slope to which I refer. It does not. It shows in profile the slope to the *southern*, not the eastern foot. To this southern slope I referred in the *Classical Review* of Nov. 1896 in the words 'The cliff is sixty feet high within fifty yards of the Sikia.' But it is the east slope which is of importance to the question between us. As to comment we are in agreement.

he designated as 'the harbour.' The vagueness of his assertions on this point is all in accord with the caution of a cautious man who is not quite clear as to his information.

Mr. Lindsay's evidence with regard to the position of the north wall is, considering the fact that he had the opportunity of ascertaining in detail Prof. Burrows' views before he went to Pylos, and went there, apparently, at the latter's request, not unfavourable to the views I have held. As to the fifth century (*sic*) wall, Mr. Carr Bosanquet speaks with the characteristic caution of an experienced archaeologist. He says 'it may well be rough fifth century work.' Of course it may be, but is it in the slightest degree likely that it is? It may just as equally well be the work of 5, 10, 15, or 20 centuries later. There is no special characteristic to determine its age. The Greek and the Cumberland shepherds at the present day build the same kind of wall (v. Figs. 6 and 7, in Prof. Burrows' article) in constructing a sheep shelter; so would anyone else constructing a wall with similar material. The survival of such a wall on a site which has had such a subsequent history as that of Pylos is so improbable as to render identification valueless for historical purposes.

I doubt whether anything can be gained by attempting to determine the date of this wall. Though the importance of Pylos is at present almost nil, it stood to the Venetian trade with the East in mediaeval and modern times in much the same relation that Gibraltar does to our own Eastern trade. It was the scene of repeated attack and defence, and even so recently as 1825 was maintained by the insurgent Greeks for six weeks against the assaults of Ibrahim Pasha's force. On ground such as this, which does not afford soil for entrenchment, the rough stone wall is the only form of defence possible.

The opinion of the professional architects of the French expedition, quoted by Mr. Bosanquet on p. 155 of the *J.H.S.* Vol. xviii. must surely be of greater weight than that of the archaeologist, M. Bory de St. Vincent. Archaeologists are not exempt from the unfortunate tendency to believe what they wish to believe.

Of the identity of the site of the *παλαιὸν ἔρυμα* there can be no doubt. I am in full agreement with Professor Burrows on this point. I was also inclined to think that he had found traces of the work above ground which I myself had missed. His original account of the remains he had discovered led me to believe that they possessed definite characteristics pointing to an early origin. But if these photographs, Figs. 2, 8, 9, in Professor Burrows' article, and the print Fig. 11 in the text convey a correct impression, these wall-remains present no such definite characteristics. That marked Fig. 9 I have not seen. Those marked Figs 2 and 8 I have. I have never seen walls elsewhere in Greece which at all resemble them, except such as are notoriously modern (*e.g.* the remnants of the breastworks erected by the Greeks at the siege of Tripolitza), roughly put together of the material lying at hand. Nor must it be imagined that this site has not passed through vicissitudes in mediaeval and modern times which must

have led to the construction and reconstruction of numerous rough walls upon it.

The north end of Sphakteria is the key to Pylos and Navarino, as Hussein Djeritli pointed out to Ibrahim Pasha. Apart from the question of artillery fire—(and it was here that the Egyptians established their batteries in 1825 in the attack on Pylos)—it was an essential *point d'appui* for any force attacking this peninsula, affording as it did a bird's-eye view over three-quarters of it, and what more natural than that such a force should guard the summit with a rough wall, since the soil for entrenchment is conspicuous by its absence. Compare, too, the wall of Fig. 2 alleged to have been built by the Messenians with the so-called fifth century wall of Fig. 6. The latter is more perfect than the former, but they are the same in character. Either might belong to any age. Mr. Crowfoot's careful plan tends more towards conviction, but presents this difficulty. How is it that the wall-foundations in the hollow show not merely a want of connection but, in the case of the northern one, a manifest disconnection with the fortification of the summit? The exigencies of the ground, if Mr. Crowfoot's plan be, as it seems to be, absolutely correct, demand no such thing. And yet it might be supposed that people who were, as the plan shows, acquainted with the use of flanking towers, would not have constructed their work in this form. In fact it does not seem as if the wall on the summit and the walls in the hollow were part of the same design. If so, which is the remnant of the *παλαιὸν ἔρυμα*, and which is not?

I see that Mr. Lindsay, in deference, no doubt, to Thukydides, suggests an improvement on Professor Burrows' design of taking the Messenian captain and his men in boats to the bottom of the cliff beneath the summit of Sphakteria. The remodelled theory rests on the insecure foothold of an imaginary path from the Panagia to that point. How insecure the foothold is will be seen by reference to the Admiralty chart, where the cliff is shown as going down sheer into a depth of between thirty and sixty feet of water for three-quarters of the distance between the Panagia and the bottom of Professor Burrows' chimney.

Mr. Woodhouse on Plataea.

Those who are interested in Greek history should certainly read Mr. Woodhouse's able article on Plataea. I think he exaggerates the differences between our views, though absolute concord on so complicated a question is not to be expected. He also seems to forget that I had to take up the work of inquiry practically *ab initio* and to construct a practical basis on which to found an explanation of the battle.

The points of difference between us are (1) as to the position of the Gargaphia spring, (2) as to the site of the Heroon of Androkrates, (3) as to the identification of stream A 1.

(1) *Gargaphia.*—That the identification proposed by Leake and myself is

capable of dispute, I admit: but Mr. Woodhouse's main arguments against it appear to me to be badly founded.

(*a*) He, identifying it with the Apotripi Spring, says that the Gargaphia of Leake is nearer the 'Island' than the Apotripi. The distance is almost exactly the same.

(*b*) He further says that the Gargaphia was by implication 10 stades from the R. Moloeis and the temple of Eleusinian Demeter. He evidently assumes that it was *within* the second position of the Greeks, and that, as they moved 10 stades before arriving at the Moloeis, etc., the spring must have been 10 stades from the latter.

It seems to me, however, that the detail of the taking of the Spring by the Persian Cavalry, *while the Greeks were still in the second position*, shows pretty clearly that the spring was not within that position, though, of course it must have been near it. The position was the top of the Asopus ridge: the spring was at the bottom of it.

(2) *The Heroon of Androkrates.*

Mr. Woodhouse would place it on the Asopus ridge, on the site of the Church of St. John. I cannot see how Thukydides' language can be so interpreted. He says, iii. 24, 'The Plataeans started from the ditch and took in a body the road leading to Thebes, having on their right the Heroon of Androkrates, thinking the beseigers would be less likely to suspect their having taken the road towards the enemy's country, and seeing, too, the Peloponnesians with torches going in pursuit along the way towards Kithairon and Dryos Kephalai which leads to Athens. For 6 or 7 stades the Plataeans went along the Thebes road, and then, turning, took the way leading towards Erythrai for Hysiai, and having taken to the hills, escaped to Athens.'

All the ways mentioned can be identified with ease, and are, in two of the three cases, existent.

The fugitives took the Thebes road, which must have been more or less identical in line with the present route from Kokla, which stands just above the ruins of Plataea, to Thebes, having on their right the Heroon. After going 6 or 7 stades they turned, evidently with intent to reach the trackway which leads from Thespiai via Pyrgos to the pass of Dryos Kephalai and the sites of Hysiai and Erythrai, and, without ascending to the pass, took to that high bastion of Kithairon which projects into the plain east of Erythrai. It seems to me that Thukydides implies that the Heroon was in the angle through which they turned, and I am inclined to think that the remnants of it will be found at one of the two stone heaps marked on my map, about half a mile north-east of the remains of the 'Acropolis' of Plataea. They must have left the site of the Church of St. John far away, not on the right, but on the left.

(3) *A1 and the Asopus.*

In a note at the end of his article Mr. Woodhouse repeats the charge which Dr. Frazer makes in his Pausanias. He accuses me of inventing this identification of A1 with the Asopus with a view to the subsequent identifi-

cation of the 'Island.' This charge is utterly unwarranted by what I have said in my original paper, and I may add that at the time the difficulty with regard to Herodotus' use of the name 'Asopus' and its solution occurred to me, I had not identified the 'Island,' which came in the very last part of my survey. Dr. Frazer has withdrawn the charge in a letter which he has given me leave to publish, if I wish, wherein he admits that what I have said affords no justification for it.

There is in the article much beside what I have mentioned, but it is matter which I should not like to discuss without further consideration. I shall certainly take it very seriously into account in dealing with the wars of the 5th century in book form, as I hope shortly to do.

G. B. Grundy.

WOMEN IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT.

Mr. Mahaffy in his preface to *The Empire of the Ptolemies* states among other problems raised by Ptolemaic history the following: 'How far does the observation, that we only know of one crown-prince with a wife (Soter II.) account for the divorce of that wife after his accession, and for the other apparent heartlessnesses in Ptolemaic history? Is the hereditary title recognised in the princesses, which no doubt led to their marriages with their reigning brothers, a relic of Pharaonic ideas, or a mere imitation of the successful experiment of Philadelphus?' This article is an attempt to show that the former hypothesis is the true one, and that the marriages of the Ptolemies were dictated by their policy of conciliation, and were based on deeply rooted native prejudices. No doubt the difficulties in accepting such a hypothesis are very great. Why, for instance, should such a survival have come into comparatively greater prominence under a late dynasty? I have endeavoured to sketch a possible explanation of this in the relations of that dynasty with the priesthood of Osiris. The hypothesis seems to clear up several dark spots in Ptolemaic history and to lend the justification of diplomacy to actions that otherwise stand condemned by their arbitrary egotism and unmeaning cruelty.

Mah. *Emp. of Pt.* Introd. p. x.

As the question seems to me to be closely bound up with the relations subsisting between the priesthood and the State and with the social and political aspect of the country generally, I shall begin by a brief examination of the condition of the priest-class at the time of the Ptolemaic occupation.

It is plain that if the Ptolemies were to gain any hold over the population of Upper Egypt, they could only do so by conciliating or subduing the priest-class. The most striking characteristic of Egyptian monarchy in Upper Egypt and in Aethiopia had always been its entire dependence on the priesthood. The influence of the priest on the people was unbounded. Under the New Empire the priest-class had risen to a temporal and spiritual power unknown to earlier times. The old nobility and nomarchs had disappeared: the soldier-class had dwindled owing to the employment of mercenaries: the μάχιμοι or military landowners under the Ptolemies were impoverished and had but a small and insignificant rôle to play; they had ceased to be landed proprietors. In fact the land was entirely in the hands of the king or of the priests.

Erman, p. 104, *seq.*

Mah. *Gk. Life and Thought*, p. 171.

Now this rise of the priesthood as a class under the new Empire is especially traceable in one place in Egypt—at Abydos, that is to say in the

Erman, p. 293.

cult of Osiris. From this time onwards we find Osiris-worship more prominent throughout Egypt, and this prominence increases with the degradation of the prestige of Thebes and the Amon cult as a national religion, and also with considerable internal modification of the nature of the priesthood. Thus, as Erman points out, the lay element disappears almost entirely from the priesthood. As the priests grow in temporal power they guard it more jealously, and it was by the formation of this close oligarchy that they were enabled to bid defiance to the Pharaohs and finally to thrust them aside and absorb the supreme power into their own order.

Erman, p. 295.

op. cit. p. 105.

The removal of the seat of government to Lower Egypt left the priesthood a powerful and discontented body with almost unlimited influence over the laity, ready to foster any signs of disaffection to the crown in the hopes of regaining something of their lost prestige and restoring to Thebes its former sovereignty. This of course applies mainly if not entirely to the priest-class of Thebes, centring round the cult of Amon-Ra; and it was thus in the treatment of Thebes and in combating the influence of its priesthood that the main difficulty, I believe, of the Ptolemaic government lay. Subsequent history shows how frequent revolts in this quarter were.

To overcome the sullen defiance of the Theban priesthood seemed impossible, so the Ptolemies gradually adopted the policy of giving their special state patronage to the cult of Osiris and elevating its priesthood to a national importance which was justified by the wide-spread influence of the cult. There were obvious reasons why this cult lent itself to their policy better than any other. It was more generally diffused and less local in its connections than any other. The Osiric cycle, belonging originally to Abydos, had lent itself to the tendency towards amalgamation which was so marked a feature of the religion of the New Empire. It was less rigid and more human, and perhaps less exclusively native than the rival cult of Thebes; its mythology adapted itself to more modern requirements and appealed to the human sentiment of its worshippers. Osiris in his aspect of God of the Dead was accepted throughout Egypt as one of the great gods, and continued to absorb and assimilate other gods and cycles of gods after they had developed beyond the strictly local stage, till finally he was closely connected with Ptah of Memphis and worshipped in combination with the latter as Osirhapi.[1] On the other hand the Amon cycle and its priesthood resisted this new anti-polytheistic tendency and remained comparatively impervious to the influences of the age. That its predominance therefore remained local and centred chiefly round Thebes is not surprising. The development of its mythology seems to have been arrested; the texts do not enlarge upon it as they do in the case of the Osiris-saga.

Erman, p. 260, *seq.*

Mah. *Emp. of Pt.* p. 72.

Erman, p. 260.

Erman, p. 272.

Poole, 'Egypt,' *Ency. Brit.* p. 718.

It was doubtless this adaptability of the Osiris cult that recommended it to the Ptolemies and enabled them to graft upon it the Hellenistic elements of the Serapis cult. Moreover, its marked Semitic character brought it into closer affinity with the religion of the foreigners—Phoenicians, Jews,

Poole, *op. cit.* p. 714.

[1] Similarly Sokaris of Memphis and the pillar of Ded were identified with Osiris.

Erman, p. 260.

Samaritans, Syrians—who were so much encouraged by the state to settle in Egypt at this period, probably from commercial reasons.

We can easily understand that the Osiric priesthood gladly lent themselves to a policy which seemed to promise a temporal aggrandisement new to them. They found, however, that this temporal power was to be of a strictly limited nature, that the firm rule of the Ptolemies did not admit of a dual power in the state. The priesthood indeed was treated with deference and generosity; their temple-lands were secured to them, their cults were elaborately honoured: in return they were expected to give religious sanctity to an upstart race of king-gods, and to use their influence in Upper Egypt to secure the loyalty of the subject and to counteract the uncompromising hostility of Thebes, which found vent in the frequent rebellions of Upper Egypt under the rule of the later kings.

It was naturally of paramount importance to Ptolemy I to secure the loyalty of Upper Egypt for the sake of the trading interests of his empire. Probably here at the outset he came into conflict with the policy of the priest-class, who saw that any commercial opening up of the country would tend to draw away still further the life of the country to the sea-board, and strip them more completely of their former power. Perhaps it was this same dread on the part of the priests in early times that led to their intervention when the energetic and progressive Necho II. was engaged in constructing the prototype of the Suez Canal—a canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea—and thus opening up the Red Sea for commercial enterprise. At any rate they seem to have had the king well under their control, and according to Herodotus he gave up the undertaking owing to their representations: Herod. ii. 158. Νεκῶς μεν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε, τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι.[1] In the New Empire the country east of the Delta, being on the highway to Syria, became opened and Tanis developed into the powerful capital and consequently a formidable rival of Thebes. Hence we see that the fears of the priesthood were by no means unfounded.

It is in the Osiric cycle alone of all Egyptian cults, as they have come down to us on the monuments, that the female divinity plays a prominent part. Ra is rarely associated with any consort, as Lepsius points out, whereas Osiris figures constantly with Isis. Isis appears, moreover, as the wife of Chemmis, the Egyptian Pan, the productive principle. Hathor herself is in later times identified with her. She is 'the goddess who is wiser than all men, than all gods and spirits.' She finds out the secret name of Ra, so that the sun-god loses his vigour and even mankind becomes hostile to him and begins a rebellion.

Poole, 'Egypt,' *Ency. Br.* p. 715 *seq.*

Brugsch, *Geog. Inschr.* i. 212 *sq.*

Turin Pap. ap. Erman, p. 265.

Now as the foundation and supreme tenet of the Osiric cult we find the

[1] It may have been owing to similarly fanatical and anti-progressive pressure from the same quarter that Darius likewise desisted before completing this canal. More definite scientific objections had to be brought to bear on the Persian king—the fact of the dangerously higher level of the Red Sea! But the 2nd Ptolemy, as we should expect, overcame the imagined physical difficulty by his φιλότεχνόν τι διάφραγμα, the spiritual one by his firm treatment of the priesthood. Diod. i. 3

holy marriage of the god with his sister Isis. But Isis is not merely wife and queen-consort of Osiris and after his death queen-regent: even during the lifetime of her husband she enjoyed more than the honours of a queen-consort. Thus we find *τὸν Ὄσιριν τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἴσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα*: moreover Diodorus states expressly that this illustrious precedent established the custom of marriages between brother and sister in Egypt[1] and led to the greater prestige of women generally: *Νομοθετῆσαι δέ φασι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γαμεῖν ἀδελφὰς διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐπίτευγμα . . . διὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας καταδειχθῆναι μείζονος ἐξουσίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν τὴν βασίλισσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις κυριεύειν τὴν γυναῖκα τἀνδρὸς, ἐν τῇ τῆς προικὸς συγγραφῇ προσομολογούντων τῶν γαμούντων ἅπαντα πειθαρχήσειν τῇ γαμουμένῃ.* This surprising statement Mr. Mahaffy dismisses in a foot-note as 'probably too strong,' though he admits that the remark gives a true general impression. And indeed recently found papyri point to a remarkable degree of legal and social freedom of women. Egyptian women (as the two names—Greek and Egyptian—prove them to be) appear frequently in the papyri concluding bargains, stating accounts, making petitions, lending money, even selling land. The Egyptian woman is legally 'capax'—a fact which no doubt horrified and perplexed the Greek conquerors—and, in deference no doubt to these scruples, we find in some documents that the woman's husband or a male relative is added as her legal *κύριος* in transacting business: but this is not till the time of Ptolemy Philopator, and the innovation is introduced by a royal rescript (*πρόσταγμα*) during the earlier part of the reign of that unpopular and anti-nationalistic king. It seems then literally true that *αἱ γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεύουσι*, and the remark is not due merely to the bewilderment of the simple Greek traveller in the land where the inhabitants *τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμους.* The maxim ascribed to Osiris that 'it is a virtue in woman to let neither her person nor her name cross the threshold' (Synes. de prov. i. 13.) obviously belongs, as Wiedemann points out, to a late date when Hellenic ideals were attributed by an anachronism to early Egypt.

Diod. i. 17.

Diod. i. 27, 1.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 444, note 2.

Grenfell, Gk. Pap. I. xviii., xix. &c.

Herod. ii. 35.

Wiedemann, Herod. ii. p. 148.

At any rate we find women figuring in a prominent position in the Grenfell Papyri. In one (xviii) we find Apollonia, or Semmonthis, the wife of Dryton, lending wheat without interest to Apollonius and his wife Herais; in the next (xix) the same Apollonia appears lending money to Nechoutes; and again in xx to Saeis and Harmais and their mother.[2] In the third will of Dryton (Pap. xxi) we find it expressly stated that his wife is to retain her earnings: *ὅσα δ' ἂν φαίνητ[αι ἐπ]ικτῃ ἔχουσα ἡ Σεμμῶνθις ὄντα αὐτῇι συνοῦσα Δρύτωνι, κυριευέτω αὐτῶν.* In xxvii Sebtitis cedes to her daughter half an aroura of corn-land; in xxxiii we again find women selling land. In

Grenfell, Alex. Erotic Frag.

Gren. Gk. Pap. I. xix. xx. xxi.

xxvii.

xxxiii.

[1] It is needless to point out that it must have been the other way about. The custom gave rise to the myth: the myth did not give rise to the custom. Such 'aetiological' myths are of universal occurrence. Every social fact works out its divine prototype.

[2] In all these cases, however, Apollonia acts with her husband as *κύριος* according to the rescript of Philopator mentioned above.

xvii. xvii two women claim to be reinstated in the possession of property inherited by them from their father. The testimony of this papyrus is exceptionally interesting. From it it appears that the property had devolved on the daughters as the natural heirs-at-law—*τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καταλιπόντος ἡμῖν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ ἀδιάθετα,* while the nearest male relative apparently took advantage of the introduction of Greek ideas, and violently took possession —*κατὰ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἐπελθόντες* [*ἀγχι*?]*στείαν ἀπογραψάμενοι οὔτε κατὰ διαθήκην.* And this, too, though the plaintiffs had duly paid the successsion duties *to the queen, i.e.* the fiscus—*ἐνήλικοι δὲ* [*ἡμεῖς γενό*]*μεναι τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη θεᾶι Βερενίκηι κυρίαι ἐδώκαμεν.* The demotic marriage-contract of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus translated by Révillout in the *Records of the Past* shows how carefully the wife's interests were safeguarded.—'Thy pocket-money for one year is apart from thy toilet-money; I must give it to thee each year, and it is thy right to exact the payment of thy toilet-money and of thy pocket-money, which are to be placed to my account. I must give it to thee. In case I should despise thee, in case I should take another wife than thee, I will give thee twenty argenteus. The entirety of the property which is mine, and which I shall possess, is security of all the above words, until I have accomplished them according to their tenor . . . . The writings which the woman Tahet, my mother, has made to me concerning one half of the entire property which belonged to Pchelchons, my father, and the rest of the contracts coming from her, and which are in my hand, belong to thee, as well as the rights resulting from it.'

Records of the Past, vol. x. p. 77.

Herod. ii. 35. Such being the Egyptian woman's legal privileges we need not wonder at her legal obligations so puzzling to Herodotus: *τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοισι, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένῃσι.* Similarly contracts have frequently been found binding a wife to bury her husband and maintain his tomb, and one which seems to exact this tribute from a daughter towards her father. This seems to indicate that the family tomb may have in some cases been the special property of a woman-heir, a fact which is paralleled amongst the Nabataeans, in which people the position occupied by women is very high, as we know from coins. The tomb, as Robertson Smith points out, is one of the sacra of the family and was practically entailed; that such sacra could be transmitted in the female line is very significant and points to an old law of female kinship. 'The old family system,' he adds, 'obsolete in political life, prevails in the grave.' Again he says, 'in the system of marriage with female kinship, there is no object to be served by excluding women from rights of property. The woman remains with her brothers, and her children are their natural heirs.'

Wiedemann, Her. ii. p. 153. Pap. Bulaq. x. 8.

Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 313.

op. cit. p. 316.

op. cit. p. 94.

The independence of women in Egypt, therefore, socially, legally and politically, seems to lend some justification to the theory that it may be a survival based on female kinship.

Coming now to the history of the individual Ptolemies, I shall try to illustrate these principles from the different reigns.

Ptolemy I. had come to Egypt fully imbued with Alexander's views; he

had already participated in the scheme of Oriental matrimony, having married Artakama, daughter of Artabazus. At first he ruled merely as satrap under the boy king Alexander IV. He did not assume the title of king till about the year 305 B.C. according to Lepsius, though Alexander IV. died in 314 B.C. At one time he entertained the idea of rendering his sovereignty legitimate after the fashion of the Diadochi by marrying a member of Alexander's family, but this was before he had dared to believe in the possibility of founding an independent sovereign line. His marriage with Alexander's sister, Cleopatra, was frustrated by Antigonus, but doubtless Ptolemy had already begun to recognise that nothing was to be gained by alliance with the house of Alexander. He had no intentions of laying claim to the Empire, and he had every reason for avoiding the jealousy of the Diadochi, certain to be evoked by such a marriage. His object, therefore, was to establish the divine right of the Lagid family and to get the priests to recognise the foundation of a new sacred line of kings. For in Egypt, more than in any other ancient country, it was the unbroken chain of succession alone that constituted the sacred nature of sovereignty.[1] Hence Alexander the Great and his nominal successor Alexander IV. are set aside by the cults as irrelevant.[2] Soter could not succeed Alexander IV.; the only way to establish his divine right was to glorify or discreetly conceal the pedigree o the Lagidae[3] and to ignore the line of Alexander, when they had once made up their minds to abandon the theory of their descent from Philip, mentioned as a current Macedonian belief by Pausanias. I am tempted to believe that Ptolemy's third marriage with Berenike was a diplomatic move in some way connected with this policy, and that there were reasons of state, probably urged by the priesthood, for accepting her as the foundress of the future line of Lagid kings rather than Queen Eurydike. The marriage with Eurydike, the daughter of Antipater, in the early part of Ptolemy's reign (321 B.C.) had been dictated entirely by foreign policy. Four years later (317 B.C.) we hear of his marriage with Berenike, a grand-niece of Antipater, who had come to Egypt in Eurydike's suite. As Mr. Mahaffy says, 'Polygamy was now the rule among the Diadochi, but so distinctly political were their marriages, that a new alliance did not imply even a divorce of sentiment between the husband and his previous wife. In the present case there is no evidence that Eurydike was divorced, neither do we hear of any domestic conflicts between Eurydike and Berenike.' Mr. Mahaffy, however, does not allege any political reasons for this new alliance, nor does he try to explain why Eurydike so meekly suffered herself to be set aside. Now the only extant statement with regard to

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 263.

Diod. xx. 37.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 49.

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 466.

Paus. i. 6, 2.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 37.

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[1] How strongly the idea of forming a dynasty took hold of the Ptolemies is seen, as Lepsius remarks, by the unvarying repetition of the name Ptolemy with each king, as well as by the similar tendency to repeat the same names in the case of the eldest daughter of the royal family.

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 460.

[2] Alexander is not θεὸς, and at Alexandria only does he have a priest.

[3] It is significant that Porphyrius, in giving the parentage of Soter, puts his mother's name first:—Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀρσινόης καὶ Λάγου υἱός. (Müller Fr. h. Gr. 3, 719).

Theocr. xvii. 61. Berenike's parentage is that of the scholiast on Theocritus,[1] who says that she was a daughter of Lagus, hence a step-sister of Ptolemy. This, Mr. Mahaffy points out, is probably a misconception arising from the formula 'wife and sister' applied to Egyptian queens; but it seems to me possible that the statement, whether true or not, indicates the beginning of a deliberate attempt to patch up a Lagid family-tree in accordance with Egyptian notions. According to Maspero (Comment Alexandre devint dieu en Egypte, *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes études*, 1896–7) 'La noblesse de chaque membre d'une maison pharaonique et ses titres à la couronne se mesuraient sur *la quantité de sang divin*, qu'il pouvait prouver : celui qui en tenait de son père à la fois et de sa mère prenait l'avance sur celui qui n'en avait que par son père ou par sa mère seule. Mais là, une des lois égyptiennes qu'on observait avec le plus de rigueur intervenait pour établir des distinctions qui ne peuvent plus être observées dans nos civilisations modernes. *Le mariage entre frère et soeur était le mariage par excellence, et il acquérait un degré de sainteté ineffable lorsque le frère et la soeur qui le contractaient étaient nés eux-mêmes d'un frère et d'une soeur issus d'un mariage identique au leur.* Cette particularité des moeurs égyptiennes, qui nous paraît un raffinement d'inceste, avait produit des conséquences importantes pour l'histoire du pays, et tout un ensemble de dispositions légales ou de fictions religieuses était destiné à en assurer l'effet dans les questions de succession royale, ou à remédier aux insuffisances de légitimité qu'elle entrainait souvent parmi les héritiers mâles.' Thus in the traditional way Ptolemy Soter was to marry a kinswoman who was to be the ancestress of the royal line, and it was only when such a line had been founded that divine honours could be paid. Hence, possibly, the delay in the deification of Ptolemy I., which seems not to have taken place until after his death in 271 B.C. That Soter was not fully acknowledged in the cult till late in his son's reign, is shown by the Aswân stele on which the series of gods begins with the gods Adelphi and omits all mention of Alexander and the gods Soteres; on the other hand this late recognition may be explained by the fact that the stele was connected with an *Amon* foundation, in which cult the Lagids may have been less readily acknowledged. Similarly we are not surprised to find the cult of Soter at the colony of Ptolemais at a time when it was not yet established at Alexandria. At any rate it seems clear that the divinity of the Lagid line was not duly recognised till established in the second generation, and that Alexander and his house were studiously set aside. Kaerst (Die Begründung des Alexander- und Ptolemaeer-Kultes in Aegypten, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1897) connects the deification of Ptolemy Soter closely with that of Alexander. It is, according to him, no 'reiner Aegyptismus' but has an Hellenic basis, though 'wir finden insbesondere in Bezug auf die Ptolemaeer eine fortschreitende Aegyptisirung des Königskultes, sodass zuletzt das lagidische Königthum als ein verjüngtes Abbild der alten Pharaonenherrschaft erscheint.' On my theory the conscious 'Aegyptisirung'

Schol. Theocr. *Id.* xvii. 17 ff.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 489.

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 490.

[1] Theocritus himself in unhellenic fashion calls her Ἀντιγόνας θυγάτηρ and avoids all mention of her father.

begins earlier and is already discernible in the matrimonial policy of Soter.

In 285–4 B.C. Ptolemy Soter definitely decided the succession question by associating his younger son, Ptolemy, in the government, practically abdicating in his favour.[1] It is apparently only at this point that Eurydike and her children withdrew: hence we may infer that the question was an open one till this date. On the assumption that there were no diplomatic reasons for considering Berenike more suitable to be the royal ancestress of the new line, this act was a mere arbitrary solution of the difficulty. Ptolemy Philadelphus seemed the most capable successor; Ptolemy Soter felt himself secure enough to enforce his choice; so the natural heir was set aside and his more competent younger brother preferred. On the other hand if there is any truth in the theory put forward above, the accession of Philadelphus was due to an undercurrent of political and priestly intrigue. I shall try later to show how such a theory bears on the actions of the disinherited children of Eurydike, and how they availed themselves in the next reign of party politics to further their personal claims. It is well to note in passing that Arsinoe, the eldest child of Berenike, who plays such an important part in the following reign, was at this time outside the range of Egyptian home-politics, having been married in 300 B. C. to Lysimachus of Thrace.

This abdication of Ptolemy I., to whatever motives it was due, was well received, and the coronation of the new king was an occasion of great public rejoicing. That the step, however, was an experiment prompted by political expediency seems likely from the testimony of Porphyry and Diogenes Laertius, who imply that the old king continued his kingly functions in partnership with his son.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 106.

op. cit. p. 106, note 1.

op. cit. p. 488, note on p. 106.

The idea that a king should abdicate voluntarily while in full possession of his faculties is a very usual one in primitive forms of civilisation, as Mr. Frazer points out in *The Golden Bough*, and is in such cases probably based on animistic conceptions of the function of the king. He is the sacred receptacle and guardian of the aggregate vitality of his people, and this vitality he must transmit intact to his successor while his faculties are still unimpaired[2]: in fact the death of the emeritus monarch was usually held to be essential to the preservation of divine kingship. Now there are various traces of this primitive custom in Egyptian and Aethiopian records down to a comparatively late date, whence I argue that the action of Ptolemy I. would be not only comprehensible but even fraught with a religious significance to the less civilised portion of his subjects. I do not mean for a moment to

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Poole, 'Egypt,' *Ency. Br.* p. 738.

[1] In a similar way Seti I., son of the usurper Rameses I., having strengthened his claims by marrying a granddaughter of Amenophis III., associated as his colleague in the sovereignty his son, the legitimate heir, Rameses II. As this position was ignored owing to its vagueness, Seti finally abdicated altogether.

[2] Cf. Diod. i. 72, 4 *οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντες οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον οὐχ οὕτω γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν ἐφρόντιζον ὡς τῆς τῶν βασιλέων ἀσφαλείας.*

It is to be feared that the motives which actuated this solicitude were less strictly altruistic and loyal than the historian imagined.

imply that he was consciously influenced by any consideration of the kind; but I think it might possibly enter, as an additional advantage of the step, into the calculations of his advisers the priests, who were well versed in such popular superstitions, and knew how to work them for their own advantage.

We may infer from the unflinching severity with which this otherwise humane king treated his dangerously near relatives, and from the actions of these relatives themselves, that the new king's succession was by no means left unchallenged. At the beginning of his reign he killed his elder step-brother, Argaeus, and perhaps, according to Pausanias, another brother as well. His full-sister, Arsinoe, as I have pointed out, was at this time safely disposed of—one of a series of diplomatic marriages uniting Egypt at this period with Thrace. In the same way a half-sister of the king's, Lysandra, was also wisely relegated to a distant land. Similarly Theoxena, a daughter of Berenike by a former marriage, had been disposed of by her step-father, Ptolemy I., in 307 B.C.

Paus. i. 7, 1.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 113.
op. cit. p. 37.

But naturally the chief danger was to be expected from Keraunos, the dispossessed son of Eurydike. If Philadelphus found it necessary to deal so harshly with his other brothers, it is probable that Keraunos was not without supporters, and we may be sure that this crafty and unscrupulous prince knew well how to work party politics for his own advantage. He never lost sight, I believe, of his ultimate object—the throne of Egypt—and his schemes in Thrace were merely stepping-stones towards this end. On being ousted from the succession he withdrew to Thrace, where he espoused the cause not of his full-sister, Lysandra, but of his half-sister, Arsinoe. In fact, he recognised that, since Berenike had been accepted as the queen-mother, Arsinoe, her eldest child, would according to Egyptian notions have claims on the throne in her own right. Hence, as Justin fully describes, he persuaded the reluctant Arsinoe II. to marry him, at the same time craftily writing to assure Philadelphus that he has 'laid aside all resentment at being deprived of his father's kingdom.' No sooner had he gained his point than he murdered Arsinoe's children before her eyes. Having been discredited in Thrace he fled to Seleukos in the hope of stirring him up against Egypt, but his career and further claims were here abruptly cut short by his death in battle against the Gauls.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 113.

Justin, 24, 2.
,, 17, 2.

Another troublesome relation was Magas of Cyrene, Philadelphus's half-brother. Being a son of Berenike, the acknowledged queen, Magas would not consider himself so entirely outside the line of succession as modern ideas would lead us to suppose. To quote Lepsius: 'nach Ptolemaischem Erbrechte scheint es, dass nach dem Tode des Königs zunächst seine Wittwe den Thron beanspruchen konnte und nur genöthigt war, den männlichen Thronfolger zum Mitregenten anzunehmen,' and again, 'das Recht der Thronfolge musste auch das der Uebertragung der Mitregentschaft auf einen Gemahl oder einen Sohn einschliessen.' With this compare Justin xxx. 3. 1, 'inter has regni Syriae parricidales discordias moritur rex Aegypti Ptolemeus (Euergetes II.), regno uxori et alteri ex filiis, quem illa elegisset, relicto.' It is thus possible that the queen-mother may have had some choice in the

Leps. Abh. *Berl. Ak.* p. 473.

op. cit. p. 504, note 1.

matter; we find Cleopatra III. apparently preferring and dismissing her sons at her own pleasure. At any rate we can imagine that the rights of the queen-mother would naturally often lead to family intrigues. Therefore the revolt of Magas may have been based on these to us shadowy claims, especially as Berenike is said to have favoured this rebellion, *i.e.* to have been wishful to single out Magas as her co-regent. This disaffection in Cyrene may be the reason of the omission of this province from the list of Egyptian possessions given by Theocritus; while the similarly puzzling omission of Cyprus may be connected with Pausanias's remark, ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν γεγονότα ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης, Κυπρίους ἀφιστάντα αἰσθόμενος, and point to a similar state of disturbance there. The claims of Magas were finally silenced *by the betrothal of his infant daughter Berenike to the crown-prince Euergetes*, which united the claims of the brothers.

Sharpe, vol. i. p. 309. Theocr. xvii. Paus. i. 7, 1. Justin, 26, 3.

This betrothal was nearly broken off owing to the plots of Demetrius the Fair, another pretender, I believe, to the throne of Egypt. This Demetrius was the son of Demetrius Poliorketes and Ptolemais, *a daughter of Eurydike and Ptolemy I.* Apame, the mother of the young Berenike of Cyrene, or rather the anti-Philadelphic party in Cyrene, conceived the plan of uniting the claims of the rival branches by marrying the young princess (a granddaughter of Berenike I.) to Demetrius (a grandson of Eurydike) and thus strengthening and combining the opposition to Philadelphus. Justin gives an account of this scheme and of its frustration owing to the fickleness of Demetrius: sed post mortem regis mater virginis Arsinoe (Apame) ut invita se contractum matrimonium solveretur, misit qui ad nuptias virginis regnumque Cyrenarum Demetrium a Macedonia arcesserent, *qui et ipse ex filia Ptolemei (Soteris) procreatus erat.* His subsequent intrigue with the queen-mother having been discovered, Demetrius was put to death, the anti-Philadelphic party was discredited, and the former betrothal of Berenike to Euergetes was confirmed. Itaque versis omnium animis in Ptolemei filium insidiae Demetrio comparantur.

Plut. *Dem.* 47. Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 112. Justin, 26, 3.

Such, then, were the difficulties which beset Philadelphus during the early part of his reign. There is another member of the family worth commenting on, not from the difficulties she occasioned, but from her apparently meek submission to state exigencies,—I mean Philotera, the king's full-sister, who seems to have *remained unmarried.* In return Philadelphus paid her more than the usual honours of a royal princess: she accompanied the king and queen on royal progresses, and cities were called after her. This, as Sharpe points out, was no idle compliment; the princess probably received the crown revenues from these cities, just as we know that Arsinoe II. received the revenues of the Arsinoite nome.[1] Indeed Letronne goes so far as to assert that all the colonies founded by Philadelphus were named after his second wife or his sister Philotera,—his two full-sisters. Mr. Mahaffy, how-

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 115. p. 135. Strabo, 16, 4, 5. Sharpe, vol. i. p. 314. Letronne, *Recueil*, ii. p. 175. Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 135.

[1] However, since there is reason to believe, as we shall see below, that this was merely a convenient state fiction, perhaps Philotera likewise profited personally less than we might suppose from the revenues of these foundations. Mah. *Emp. Pt.* Chronol. Table, p. xix.

ever, denies this, stating that he has found other village-names mentioned in the Petrie Papyri, such as Lagis, Lysimachis, etc., founded by this king; though this perhaps scarcely refutes Letronne's statement regarding the establishment of colonies. I fail, moreover, to understand why Mr. Mahaffy cites the colony of Philadelphia (Rabat Amon) as an exception to the rule. Surely that name more than any other stamps the colony as a foundation in honour of his wife Arsinoe II., who alone at this period bore that name. Philotera was further honoured as a goddess with a shrine at Memphis, a cult established according to Mr. Mahaffy by Philadelphus, though Lepsius assigns its foundation to Euergetes.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 112, note 1.

op. cit. p. 116.

Leps. Abh. *Berl. Ak.* p. 500.

This brings me to what is the crucial point in my argument—the second marriage of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The date of this event is uncertain, but Lepsius and Mr. Mahaffy place it about 277 B.C., that is, a few years before the second visit to Pithom. It seems possible that the step may have been advised by the priests during the consultations of the previous visit soon after the death of Lysimachus, and its accomplishment may have been postponed by Arsinoe's meantime falling a victim to the schemes of Keraunos. We have seen above the numerous difficulties which beset Philadelphus and prevented his full recognition as monarch. On my theory these difficulties could be finally settled only by this alliance with his sister Arsinoe. This Arsinoe was the *eldest* child of Ptolemy Soter and Berenike, and, if the rights of Eurydike's children were to be set aside, might claim to be the legitimate heir.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* Chronol. Table, p. xvii.

The reasons usually alleged for this marriage seem to me inadequate and unconvincing. Droysen (and with him Strack) believes that it was due to the proprietary claims which Arsinoe had on certain cities of the Euxine such as Cassandrea and Pontic Heraclea. But if it is true, as we hear, that Philadelphus had later to carry on an elaborate naval war to bring these cities into submission to Arsinoe, one is tempted to fancy that he might have helped himself to them, even without the sanction of matrimony, had they been his sole object.

Droysen, *Hell.* ii. p. 234 *seq.*

Koepp likewise connects the step with foreign policy. According to his view Philadelphus hoped by this union with the widow of King Lysimachus, to attach the old subjects of the Thracian King to his cause in the war against Syria. We must remember, however, that Arsinoe, not long after the death of Lysimachus, had consented to marry the usurper Keraunos, her step-brother. Besides, immediately after this marriage she had been banished by Keraunos to Samothrace, where she seems to have lived in retirement during the few years[1] before her return to Egypt. It does not seem likely then that an alliance with her would have greatly strengthened the bond between Thrace and Egypt.

Koepp, *Syrian Wars*, quoted by Mah. p. 132.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 122.

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[1] If we are to accept the date 277 B.C. as the approximate time of her marriage to Philadelphus, though Wiedemann (*Philol. N. F.* i. 81), puts it as late as 273 B.C. Lysimachus died in 281 B.C.: presumably she did not marry Keraunos quite at once, as Justin dwells on her reluctance. Justin, 24, 2.

Holm, on the other hand, believes that the marriage was due to personal affinity of character:—'ich glaube die Hauptsache war die Uebereinstimmung der Charaktere. Beiden war das Höchste Herrschaft, Intrigue, Lebensgenuss. Sie verstanden, halfen sich gegenseitig und verziehen einander ihre Fehler.' Even accepting this estimate of their characters, one does not feel the cogency of the reason: the history of the period parades before our eyes a long succession of personages of both sexes sufficiently endowed with such qualities, and one cannot help believing that Philadelphus might easily have found a congenial consort, without shocking his Hellenic subjects by such a serious departure from Greek customs. Besides, he cannot up till close on the time of the marriage have seen much of this sister: we must remember that she was married to Lysimachus in 300 B.C. when Philadelphus was only eight years old! Nor can she have been long in Egypt immediately before the marriage (if we accept the date 278—277 B.C. for that event[1]), for after 281 she married Keraunos and lived some time in Samothrace, long enough indeed to become imbued with Samothracian religion, as she built a temple there to the Kabeiroi.

Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* vol. iv. p. 260.

Mah. *Emp. Pt* p. 138. p. 139.

Mr. Mahaffy also inclines to the theory of personal attraction, though he is anxious to discount the flatteries of court poets: he dwells on her remarkable intellectual ability and the tact with which she adapted herself to her position; he believes that she was by no means good-looking. We must remember that she was about forty, considerably older than the king, and that her life had been a troubled one.

p. 141

But the most serious objection, which applies to all these theories alike, seems to me the fact that they treat the marriage as an isolated instance and do not take into account the subsequent brother-and-sister marriages in Ptolemaic history. Everything, therefore, seems to point to the conclusion that the marriage was due to diplomacy. There is no trace of any violent rupture with Arsinoe I., who seems to have lived afterwards in semi-regal state at Koptos. It is true that she is reported to have plotted against her husband's life, but no definite evidence of this is forthcoming, and it seems very unlikely from what we know of her subsequent position at Koptos. It is just the sort of rumour that would inevitably arise to explain her retirement to the Hellenic world. On the other hand, Arsinoe II., being herself childless, adopted the first queen's children. On the stelae of Pithom and of Mendes Euergetes is actually represented as the son of Arsinoe II.[2]; so too on the Canopus stone he figures as the son of the *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί*. Strack

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 137, note 2

Theocr. 17 Schol. Grenfell and Mah. *Revenue Pap.*, Introd. p. xxi.

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[1] From Mr. Mahaffy's own argument there seems to be no special reason for dating the marriage much before 273 B.C., the date of the second visit to Pithom mentioned above, though he fixes on 278–277 B.C. This seems to crowd too much into the years 281–278 B.C. and I should feel much more satisfied with a later date. Mr. Mahaffy points out that there is nothing in the Pithom inscription to show that the marriage and deification were quite recent. But, on the other hand, is there anything conclusive to prove that it was not? Kaerst (die Begründung des Alexander- und Ptolemaeerkultes in Aegypten, *Rhein. Mus.* vol. 52) prefers the year 274 B.C.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 138.

op. cit. p. 139.

[2] It is impossible, as Mr. Mahaffy points out, to believe that the Pithom stele represents an unknown child of Arsinoe II.

Revenue Pap. Introd. p. xxii.

Canopus Decree, l. 1.

(*die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* p. 88), admits that this suppression of his mother's name looks like an attempt to establish *in the eyes of the priesthood* the legitimacy of his succession. He considers, however, that the 'Berühmtheit' solely of Arsinoe II. was a sufficiently strong motive to influence the priests. Arsinoe seems to have immediately taken up a position of influence in the country, somewhat perplexing unless based on her own heiress-rights. It is she who is deified with the title Philadelphus which later historians extended to her husband; in the Revenue Papyrus she is referred to simply as ἡ φιλάδελφος, whereas Ptolemy is merely one of the θεοὶ ἀδελφοί.[1] Thus he appears to owe his divine honours mainly to his wife, as indeed the representation of Arsinoe conferring honours on her husband at the top of the Pithom stele would lead us to conclude.

The testimony of coins, too, is somewhat similar. To quote Strack (*op. cit.*, p. 17) 'steht ein Fürst an der Spitze des Staates, so beweist sein Name und sein Bildniss auf den Münzen seine Souveränität. Die Ptolemäer haben des wenig acht gehabt.' In fact we find on their coins 'Köpfe und Aufschriften von verschiedenen Königinnen.' It is rare to find Philadelphus alone on them; he appears frequently with Arsinoe II. and she frequently alone. On one struck by Philadelphus we find on the one side the head of Arsinoe, on the reverse the double cornucopiae and the inscription Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου (Poole, Pl. VIII. 1): on the reverse of another, which likewise has Arsinoe's head on the obverse, is the royal eagle and the same inscription (Poole, Pl. VIII. 3). A noteworthy point concerning the coinage of this reign is the fact that Ptolemy in the first half of his reign does not date his coins from the year of his accession. In Sharpe's words: 'it is not till the nineteenth year of his reign, *soon after the death of his mother*, that he made an era of his own and dated his coins by the year of his own reign.' Thus we have coins with the heads of Soter and Philadelphus on one side, on the other the head of *Berenike*. Now if Berenike died some time before 266 B.C., the nineteenth year of the reign, and if it is possible that the marriage with Arsinoe II., as I have tried to show, may have taken place rather later than 277 B.C., in fact, immediately before the second visit to Pithom in 273 B.C., it seems not impossible to connect the two events and to find in them the immediate reason for the marriage of Ptolemy at that particular date with Berenike's heiress-daughter, and for the beginning of his own coinage. This argument would apply equally well, however, even if the marriage took place shortly before Berenike's death: as Berenike grew old Philadelphus would no doubt see the advisability of strengthening his position by the new alliance; there may even have been

Sharpe, vol. i. p. 335.

Grenfell, *Alex. Erot. Fr.* p. 30.

[1] In Grenfell's *Greek Papyri*, No. XII. (date c. 148 B.C.) Ptolemy II. is mentioned as Philadelphus. This, Mr. Grenfell observes (note 7, p. 31), is the earliest known reference to him with this title; thus 'there can be little doubt that it was used in the list of kings among the priesthood of Ptolemais, when the priesthood of Ptolemy II. was established.' We should naturally expect that the title would first be extended to the king in the Greek city Ptolemais; similarly, as we have seen, it is in this place that the cult of the Soteres is first recognised. The colony was under the special protection of both Soter and his son.

a party in the state ready to put forward the independent claims of Arsinoe, a party which may have had a section of the priesthood at their back. At any rate the same year probably, the nineteenth (266 B.C.), in which Philadelphus began his coinage, saw the accomplishment of the climax of Arsinoe's deification—a Canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus is established at Alexandria.[1] Two years later a further concession is made—we have the first mention of the gods Adelphi. In the same year the third visit to Pithom took place and along with it we hear of fresh religious endowments—a *quid pro quo*, one is tempted to believe.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* Chronol. Table, p. xix.

op. cit. Chronol. Table, p. xix.

But the culminating point of Arsinoe's political importance is still to be mentioned. I mean the transference of the *ἀπόμοιρα*, or tax of one sixth on wine and fruits, from the temples to the queen in the year 262 B.C., a detailed record of which transference has been preserved in the recently found Revenue Papyrus. This transference, as Mr. Mahaffy observes, puts a very different complexion on the attitude of Ptolemy towards the priesthood. On the priestly monuments we hear only of fulsome votes of thanks to the king for the generosity of his endowments. We know now that his munificence was to a large extent merely a cloak to cover this great revolution in taxation, which reduced the clergy to the condition of state-pensioners and diverted this great source of revenue into the public treasury. The money went to the fiscus, but it was claimed in the name of the deified Arsinoe. As a goddess identified with Isis she might claim the *ἕκτη* without outraging national scruples.

Emp. Pt. p. 143 *seq.*

Emp. Pt. p. 145.

op. cit. p. 160.

As Mr. Grenfell says, 'It is hardly necessary to point out that the *ἕκτη* was collected and paid *εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν* like any other tax. The *θυσίαι καὶ σπονδαὶ* was an ingenious but transparent fiction to cloak the disendowment of the temples.' The result is that it is one and the same thing for all practical purposes whether the payment is made *εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν* or to the goddess Arsinoe—in fact we now know from the newly recovered fragment of the Mendes stele that the queen had died some years earlier, in 270 B.C.

Rev. Pap. col. 36, note 4.

Mah. *Athenaeum*, Jan. 16, 1897.

This brings me to the most difficult and intricate point in the reign—the reclaiming of Lake Moeris, and the connection of this event with the queen. Mr. Mahaffy, writing before the early date of the queen's death was discovered, is much exercised to decide whether Arsinoe was dead or alive at the time, whether the renouncing of her rights to the district was a gift or a bequest. But taking this settlement of the Fayyum in close connection with

Emp. Pt. p. 156.

Gren. & Mah. *Rev. Pap.* Introd.

[1] According to Mr. Mahaffy: 'We know from independent sources that the deification of Arsinoe Philadelphus was gradual; that she attained divine honours, first at one, then at another of the Egyptian temples. The establishment of a Canephorus or eponymous priestess in her honour at Alexandria, which dates back as far as the year 19 of the reign, according to demotic documents, appears to be the climax or consummation of this gradual apotheosis. We now know that practically the process was not complete till the King's twenty-third year, when she absorbed one of the great revenues of all the Egyptian gods.'

As proof that this was the high-water mark of her deification one may remember that it is always in connection with this Canephorus of Alexandria that her name is mentioned specially (as well as with her husband) as one of the *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* in the date formulae of subsequent reigns, *e.g.* Grenfell, Papyri X., XII., XXV., XXVII.

the policy of the preceding years, I would suggest that the explanation is to be found in the same fact, that the use of Arsinoe's name is again nothing but a state fiction,[1] that the queen personally gave up nothing, but that the so-called renunciation of her rights merely cloaked the re-organisation of the crown-property, formerly ἡ λίμνη, now reclaimed land to a large extent. It seems likely from a remark of Diodorus that the proceeds of the fisheries of the lake may have belonged according to ancient tradition in quite a special way to the queen for her personal expenditure—πρὸς μύρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καλλωπισμόν. At the same time Herodotus in referring to these same fishery-revenues says that they brought annually two hundred and forty talents ἐς τὸ βασιλήιον and again he alludes to them as part of the state revenues in Persian times. Therefore probably the reclaiming of the land meant not that Arsinoe renounced her personal property for the benefit of the state, as Mr. Mahaffy assumes, but rather that the government to suit its own ends chose to give up at least part of these revenues and by reclaiming the lake gained fertile land which was wanted at the time for special political purposes. Just as the ἀπόμοιρα was diverted into the fiscus in the queen's name, so here the extension of the Lake province and its better irrigation was attributed to her: we hear of the Ἀρσινόης χῶμα and hereafter the district was officially known as the Arsinoite nome.

Diod. i. 52, 5.

Herod. ii. 149. Herod. iii. 91, 5.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 178.

The position which Arsinoe held from the time of her return to the country points strongly to the recognition of her rights as heiress. At the top of the Pithom stele the queen is represented as a deity conferring honours on the king her husband. On a tablet recently discovered at Tanis (Egypt. Explor. Fund, *Tanis* pt. ii., Petrie p. 30, No. 165), Arsinoe is called 'the Net, the regent of the two lands, princess, lady of thrones': another tablet from the same place (*op. cit.* p. 32) represents Ptolemy II. in Egyptian dress offering land to Khem and Arsinoe. There was a cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus at Alexandria as early as 267 B.C.; and even earlier, with the title Philadelphus, she had been associated as σύνναος θεά in the cult of various Egyptian gods. For the deification at this time of her husband in his own right there is no evidence: he merely figures along with Arsinoe as one of the 'Gods Adelphi.' On the other hand the deification of the queen was carried out step by step, as Droysen (Berlin Sitzb. for 1882) points out, leading up to the final stage late in the reign, when a very practical meaning was given, as we saw, to the sovereign lady's divinity. In the face of all these facts and with no single piece of evidence that Ptolemy II. bore the title Philadelphus in his life-time, is it possible to believe with Strack (*op. cit.* p. 116 ff.) that the title was transferred to Arsinoe from her husband? We have, he admits, examples in later Ptolemaic history of the transference of similar titles from a queen to the king associated with her in the crown: *e.g.* Soter II. receives from his mother the title Philometor, and later from his daughter the title *Philadelphus*. He admits, too, that in public documents of the reign Ptolemy II.

[1] As we now know that the queen was already dead when the reform took place, we may judge how nominal her part in the transaction must have been.

bears only the dynastic name, and shelters himself behind the rarity of such documents. But surely his theory that 'Philadelphus' was the proper name of Ptolemy II. 'den er nach Erhebung zum Thronfolger mit dem dynastischen vertauscht habe, der dann nicht aus dem Gedächtnis geschwunden und später wieder hervorgeholt sei, als es sich um einen Namen handelte unter dem er verehrt werden konnte' is hardly convincing. And we are asked to believe, that this 'Individualname voll guter Vorbedeutung' was bestowed on Ptolemy II. in his infancy 'dem Stiefbruder (Keraunos) gegenüber, der später die Krone tragen würde'! If on the other hand, as I believe, Ptolemy II. bore the name of Ptolemy in his childhood, the fact that he was given the dynastic name usually bestowed on the crown-prince seems to point to the conclusion that the marriage of Soter with Berenike was a diplomatic move and that Berenike's son was from the first destined for the succession. The deification of Arsinoe as 'Philadelphus' indicates, I believe, her identification with Isis. Other names of the Ptolemies suggest a similarly close connection with the Osiric cult. *Dionysus* is applied to Philopator and to Auletes; *Isis* to Cleopatra VII.: *Philadelphus* again to Auletes and to Ptolemy the son of Cleopatra VII. Possibly *Euergetes* belongs to the same cycle, for Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride*, 42) says: *τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ* (Osiris) *τὸν Ὄμφιν εὐεργέτην ὁ Ἑρμαΐος φησι δηλοῦν ἑρμηνευόμενον.*

Coming now to Euergetes we are first struck by the date of his marriage, which took place according to Callimachus in the year of his accession. We know that he had been betrothed to his cousin Berenike for years; we know, too, that he must have been about thirty-three (taking Lepsius's date, 281 B.C., for the first marriage of Philadelphus) at the time of his accession, while Berenike must have been of a marriageable age before this date, if she was old enough at the time of the crisis at Cyrene in 258 B.C. to play the part described by Justin.[1] Why then had the marriage been delayed so long? Mr. Mahaffy suggests that 'there must have been some law or tradition of the old Pharaonic royalty on account of which the wife of a prince royal could not be elevated to the dignity of reigning queen.' He goes on to point out a fact most important for my argument: '*It was not the habit of Ptolemaic crown-princes to get married before they ascended the throne.*' Elsewhere he says: 'In most other monarchies a suitable bride is found for the crown-prince as soon as he is of age; in Ptolemaic Egypt I have observed with surprise that this is against the practice of the court, *though the reigning Ptolemies marry as soon as possible.* Philadelphus, though grown-up in 290 B.C., does not apparently marry until his assumption of royalty—in the opinion of some critics, not till his father is dead. Euergetes, though long grown-up, seems to have no wife till his accession; Philopator, succeeding at about the age of twenty-four, has no wife till some years later. We hear of no wife of Euergetes II. till he *succeeds in middle life and marries the widowed*

Ellis, *Catullus*, p. 289 *seq.*

Leps. *Berl. Ak.* p. 503.

Justin, xxvi. 3.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 491.

Mah. Introd. to *Revenue Pap.*, p. xxv.

[1] To explain this discrepancy it has been assumed that Berenike was a child of six or seven at the time of the disturbance, which seems scarcely likely.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 186, note 1.

queen. So it is (with one exception) down to the case of Caesarion, who would doubtless have been married before his early death, *but for this curious court tradition.* A satisfactory explanation of it I have not yet found.' Mr. Mahaffy suggests that only the child *born in the purple was legitimate*; but with the remark of Lepsius (already quoted) we may perhaps find a sufficient ground for this 'court tradition' in the full rights of the late king's widow to nominate her successor and the necessity for that successor to form an alliance in accordance with Egyptian notions with a view to increasing 'la quantité de sang divin.'[1]

To apply this solution in detail. Philadelphus apparently did marry before his mother's death. Hence the comparatively insignificant part played by his first wife, and her repudiation perhaps at the time of the queen-dowager's death, leading to the marriage with the great queen Arsinoe II., and the beginning of the personal coinage of Philadelphus. If on the other hand this second marriage took place before the death of Berenike, it is probable that the first important step in the deification of Queen Arsinoe (266 B.C.) at least followed closely on the death of the queen-mother. As the deification did not begin till four years after her own death, it can hardly be directly dependent on that event. Hence I argue that her recognition by the priesthood was connected with the queen-dowager's demise.

What then can have delayed the marriage of Euergetes to his cousin Berenike? We know now that his mother, Arsinoe, had died years before, and Euergetes himself had been already associated for years in the government. There seems, therefore, no reason for the puzzling delay. We know, however, that his betrothal to Berenike, the daughter of Magas, was occasioned by State emergencies. May we not suppose, therefore, that, the emergency having been tided over, there was a party in the State which expected the heir apparent to ally himself duly with his own sister Berenike? Such dissensions may serve to explain the change in the formulae in public documents. The name of Euergetes appears in them frequently in the 19th, 21st and 24th years of the reign of Philadelphus (all subsequent to the death of Arsinoe). In the 27th year the name of Euergetes disappears. Now in the 27th year, 258 B.C., the plot of Demetrius the Fair at Cyrene was discovered, and the betrothal of Euergetes to the daughter of Magas was ratified. At this time the other Berenike was not disposed of: and if there was a party which advised a marriage between Euergetes and his sister, it may have been strong enough to bring about the withdrawal of the Crown Prince's name from public documents when he was betrothed to his cousin. In the year 248 B.C., probably, the policy favouring the marriage with the Cyrenaean Berenike once more triumphs. Berenike, daughter of Philadelphus, is married to Antiochus II., *and in the following year*—the year of his accession—Euergetes at length marries his cousin Berenike. Ptolemaic history hardly justifies us in regarding these events as a final solution of

[1] Cf. Lumbroso, 'Il arrivait toutefois que le roi constituât son successeur ou confiât le choix à son épouse' (Justin 39, 3).

Lumbroso, *Hist. d'écon. pol. sous les Lagides*, p. 179.

the difficulty. This solution comes only with the death of Berenike in Syria in the following year, an event entailing the dissolution of the party favouring her interests and perhaps connected with the 'domestic revolution' which, according to Justin and S. Jerome, recalled Euergetes from his campaign in Asia. These disturbances were finally settled in 238 B.C., when the priests in assembly at Canopus conferred on the king *and queen* 'well established monarchy'—*οἱ θεοὶ δεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς εὐσταθοῦσαν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ δώσουσιν τἄλλ' ἀγαθὰ πάντα εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον.* To understand the queen's position we must remember that she was the granddaughter of Ptolemy I. and Berenike I.[1] It is the queen's head that appears on the obverse of six copper coins quoted by Svoronos (Coll. of Joh. Demetrius), while on the reverse is the inscription *Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως*. Hence on the king's coins appear the insignia of the queen.[2]

Canopus Dec. l. 19.

Journ. Inter. d'Arch. Num. vol. i. pt. 2, 1898.

It is not known whether the child Berenike so exceptionally honoured in the Canopus Decree was the eldest child; but this assumption alone seems to account for the supreme honours conferred on her at her early death, and it is corroborated by the evidence of the heraldry on her crown:—*εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἐπιτιθεμένην βασιλείαν τῇι εἰκόνι αὐτῆς διαφέρουσαν τῆς ἐπιτιθεμένης ταῖς εἰκόσιν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς ἐκ σταχύων δύων, ὧν ἀνὰ μέσον ἔσται ἡ ἀσπιδοειδὴς βασιλεία* (Hieroglyphic version translated by Lepsius—'seiend eine Uräusschlange zwischen ihnen'). Strack (*op. cit.*, p. 5) bases his argument that the title *βασίλισσα* does not in itself imply association in the government on the fact of its application to this young princess. He argues that it is impossible to suppose that the title implied anything of the kind in her case. We know, however, that Epiphanes was associated (and possibly also Philometor) while still an infant. Strack admits, moreover, that Cleopatra II. and Cleopatra III. were queens regnant and yet they contented themselves with the simple title *βασίλισσα*.

Canop. Dec. l. 61.

Leps. *Ban. Decr.* p. 34.

Ptolemy IV. Philopator must have been grown up on his accession in 222 B.C., for demotic scholars say that he was formally associated with his father in the sovereignty and probably did some of the official work during his father's decaying activity. He was not married, however, nor did he marry for many years after his accession. We know that his mother Berenike II. survived her husband: even assuming that she was thirteen or fourteen at the time of the crisis at Cyrene, she may quite well have lived up till the date of her son's marriage in 213 B.C., as she would only be about sixty then. She may, however, have died some years earlier, when Philopator was too much occupied with his foreign campaign to think of matrimony.[3] Hence the delay of probably nine years between his accession and his marriage

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 225.

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 503.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* Chronol. Table, p. 20.

C I.G. 5127. Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 199, note 3.

[1] In the Adulitan inscription in the list of territories which Euergetes received from his father *παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός* there is naturally no mention of Cyrene which came to him from his wife.

[2] I cannot believe with Svoronos that these coins are Cyrenian, belonging to the period before Berenike's marriage, and that Euergetes appears on them merely as the betrothed of Berenike.

[3] In fact there seems reason to suppose that Philopator caused his mother to be put to death. Polybius, xv. ch. 25.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 248 & note 4.

with his sister, Arsinoe III., in 213 B.C., *in which same year the king and queen were deified as gods Philopatores,*—an event which, I believe, marks a change in his policy and a compromise brought about by the native revolt of the same year. The revolt may have been largely caused by this very delay in his marriage: his mother being now dead, national prejudice saw no reason for loyalty to the son, or perhaps allegiance may have even been transferred to the late queen's heiress-daughter: in fact we know what an important part this princess played in the Raphia campaign.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 265. Polyb. v. 69.

With regard to Epiphanes the evidence is neutral. His mother, Arsinoe III., wife and sister of Philopator, was dead before his accession and he himself was an only child. If we accept the testimony of Polybius xv. 25, the murder of Arsinoe III. was doubtless instigated by Philopator because of her presumptive royal rights, and in the same year (according to Lepsius) Epiphanes was associated in the crown. In the three dedications quoted by Strack (p. 11), the queen's name occurs, as Strack points out, in the two first, while in the third it is omitted, and the epithets and titles of Philopator, her husband and murderer, have become more fulsomely flattering. We know that Arsinoe III. was honoured with a cult at Alexandria.[1] She appears frequently on coins (Poole, Pl. XV. 6, 7). Her death left her only child, Epiphanes, in the exceptional position of sole claimant to royal rights. Hence his marriage was unessential to his full recognition, and at his Anacleteria he received at the age of fourteen complete divine honours, as we know from the Rosetta Stone. There he is already treated to a two-fold divine title—Θεὸς Ἐπιφανὴς Εὐχάριστος. Indeed as Mr. Mahaffy says, 'These honours are far more extravagant than those given to Euergetes, and are to be compared *to the honours assigned to the dead child Berenike.*'

Strack, *op. cit.*, p. 12, note 1.

Grenfell, Gk. Pap. x. l. 3.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 329.

Of the mysterious Eupator's brief reign (in the year 182 B.C.) and matrimonial prospects we know nothing. If, however, he was the elder son of Epiphanes and Cleopatra I., as seems certain from his position in the nine hieroglyphic lists mentioned by Lepsius, where he appears as 'der von einem grossen Vater entsprossene Gott,' in each case immediately preceding Philometor, the absence of all records of this short reign may be due to preference on the part of the queen-mother for her younger son. One is tempted to see traces of two rival parties in the names conferred on these two brothers. In any case, the unobtrusive manner in which the child-king (he cannot have been more than ten years old) appeared and disappeared is easily accounted for by the ascendency of the queen-mother. The government centred in her and the death of one son and the assumption of another as co-regent were matters of little importance. The younger brother, Ptolemy VII. Philometor, succeeded in the same year, the queen-mother, Cleopatra I., surviving till 174 B.C. In the following year Philometor married

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 464 *seq.* p. 465.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 329.

[1] Grenfell, Pap. X. mentions a ἱερεία Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι. So too, Pap. XII. l. 5 and XXV. col. 2, l. 6, and XXVII. col. 2. This priestess of Arsinoe frequently appears in date-formulae with the Athlophorus of Berenike and the Canephorus of A. Philadelphus,—all these princesses having, I believe, claims on the throne in their own right.

his sister Cleopatra II., though he was at that time only fifteen years old.[1] It seems likely that this early marriage was prompted by reasons of state. As Epiphanes and Cleopatra I. had married in 193 B.C. and Philometor was not born till 188 B.C., Cleopatra II. as well as Eupator may have been an *elder* child (Strack, *op. cit.* p. 197 note 19). Strack however considers Eupator to be a son of Philometor and Cleopatra II., and believes that Cleopatra reigned jointly with him for a few weeks after Philometor's death (Strack *op. cit.* p. 182).

It is interesting to observe that the history of Egyptian royalty for a whole century from this time onwards practically means the history of the three queens, Cleopatra I., II. and III., whose ascendency forms an all but unbroken chain. We hear of the 'wise regency' of Cleopatra I. during her son's minority. One is tempted to believe that the title conferred on Ptolemy VII. may have been a public recognition of her good government; just as, I believe, the title Philopator may have been a national expression of gratitude to the nationalistic Euergetes perhaps forced on his reactionary son. Of this queen, Strack says (p. 3) 'sie hat sich mit den Rechten eines Vormundes begnügt und sich nicht zur regierenden Fürstin gemacht.' We must remember that she was a Syrian princess and not a blood-relative of the late King Epiphanes. 'Erst ihre Nachfolgerin (Strack, p. 3) Kleopatra II. hat diese Stellung für sich in Anspruch genommen.' And Cleopatra II. was the sister and wife of Ptolemy Philometor.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 330.

On the death of Cleopatra I. she becomes the prominent figure in the state, and continues to be so in the troubled times that follow, only sharing her power towards the end of her life with her daughter and rival Cleopatra III. Before the year 172 B.C. (Strack p. 183) we find Cleopatra II. married to her brother Philometor. It is she who reconciles the rival brothers Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes II., and induces them to reign jointly for a time (from 170 B.C.). On a Theban monument we find the three—the two brothers and their sister Cleopatra II.—offering to Amon-Ra as the *three Philometores*.

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 467.

On the death of Philometor in 146 B.C. the exiled Euergetes II. returned to claim the throne and the hand of his sister and brother's widow Cleopatra II. He carries his point, and, according to Justin, on the very day of the wedding murders his bride's probably already grown-up son. This son is no doubt the second *κωφὸν πρόσωπον* of the dynasty—Ptolemy VIII. Philopator Neos. Here again the title seems to indicate that he may have been the candidate favoured by the party opposed to the queen-mother's claims. Mr. Mahaffy doubts the fact of his murder, and believes that Philopator may have died a natural though opportune death: but party-politics seemed

Justin, 38, 3. Leps. *Berl. Ak.* p. 467.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 380, note 2.

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[1] Letronne and Grenfell and others, however, assign the marriage to a later date, 165 B.C. Lepsius is uncertain.

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 465.

In either case the Grenfell Pap. X. (174 B.C.) belongs as it were to the watershed between the two Cleopatras, immediately after the death of the mother: hence in it the name of Ptolemy occurs alone—according to Mr. Grenfell's restoration [*βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐκ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν ἐπι*]*φανῶν ἔτους ὀγδόου.*

Grenfell, Gk. Pap. x l. 1, note 1.

to necessitate the death of Philometor's son, and from what we know of Physkon's character it is not likely that he would hesitate to take the proper steps to secure his authority. Accordingly, no sooner had Cleopatra II. in the following year (145 B.C.) borne the king a son, called Memphites because he was born at the time of the coronation in Memphis, than the king divorced her and married her daughter Cleopatra III.—'vielleicht nicht bloss ihrer grösseren Jugend wegen, sondern auch, weil sie als Tochter seines Bruders Philometor *nach Aegyptischen Erfolgerecht, welches die weibliche Linie nicht ausschloss, für sich oder ihren Gemahl die Krone hätte beanspruchen können,*' as Lepsius says: 'diesen Zweifeln kam er durch die neue Verheirathung zuvor, nahm aber dennoch bald darauf deren Mutter, seine erste Frau, wieder zu sich.' Kakergetes was determined to secure the right of succession; and in this way he made it doubly sure by being married simultaneously to both generations of heiresses. We may judge to what extent this extraordinary coalition worked from the evidence of inscriptions. According to Lepsius the triad appear together as gods Euergetae on the monuments in the years 141 and 136 B.C.; after the latter date Ptolemy appears with Cleopatra III. alone in the years 126, 125, 124; in 124 again and in 118 (that is, to the death of the king) the king appears once more with both queens, the precedence being invariably given to Cleopatra the elder. In the years 130—129 Ptolemy seems to have been in exile and Cleopatra II. reigns. It may have been at this time that the king in revenge murdered his son (by Cleopatra II.) Memphites. Nevertheless the three seem to have been once more associated in the government—probably till the death of Cleopatra II. On the king's death in 117 B.C. Cleopatra III. is thus left in undisputed authority, being, as daughter of Philometor I., sole heir.

Justin, 38, 8. Leps. *Berl. Ak.* p. 470.

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 470.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 391.

Justin, 38, 8. Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 392. Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 504, note 1.

This queen begins her long supremacy by associating first one son in her regency, then, some years later, she deposes him and chooses another. The elder son, Ptolemy Lathyrus, seems to have rebelled against his mother's authority, and she on her part tried to undermine his position. She forced him to *divorce his elder sister and wife,* Cleopatra IV. and marry the *younger* sister, Selene, whose name does not appear on inscriptions.[1] As Mr. Mahaffy says, 'We can hardly doubt that by this arrangement she meant to avoid the association of the young queen with her son's and her own name in public acts, as had been the case when she herself had been the younger Cleopatra, for there was probably some strong Egyptian sentiment against giving these peculiar royal and divine honours to the younger members of the family.'

op. cit. p. 472. *Emp. Pt.* p. 406.

The queen-mother and her elder son reign together till 107–6 B.C. as gods Philometores Soteres. In inscriptions the queen takes precedence: *e.g.* Grenfell Papyri xxvii, xxv, Greek Protocol of Paris Papyrus of Osoroeris, Demotic Papyrus of Berlin, No. 13 (Leps. *Berl. Ak.* p. 493). Lepsius calls attention to the fact that in this demotic papyrus (Berlin 13) the king does not receive the title θεός: he only does so in the Greek and in *conjunction*

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 473 p 492.

p. 494.

Sharpe, vol. ii. p. 16. Visconti, *Icon. grec,* Pl. 54, 17 Porphyr. ap. Scaliger.

[1] Queen Selene's head, however, is found (if the coin has been rightly read) on a coin of this period with the customary royal eagle and the name of Ptolemy on the reverse.

with his mother. This subordinate position was no doubt galling to Lathyrus; he divorces Selene and tries to free himself from his mother's control, but in vain. In 110 B.C., indeed, we find him reigning alone, but the queen-mother is too powerful: Lathyrus is exiled and Cleopatra III. recalls her younger son Alexander I. to be co-regent 107 B.C. In 99 B.C. we find the latter married to his niece, Berenike III., the daughter of Lathyrus and, according to Lepsius and Poole, of Cleopatra IV., hence the direct heir. In the same year the queen-mother, the king and queen, appear in an inscription in the following order—Ptolemy Alexander I., Cleopatra III., Berenike III. In 90 B.C. Ptolemy Alexander likewise conspired against his mother's ascendency and put her to death. On the death of both Alexander I. and Lathyrus, Berenike III.[1] succeeded and reigned alone for six months; but soon after her accession the son of Alexander I. and his *first* wife, Ptolemy XII. Alexander II. returned to Egypt from Rome and immediately married and murdered Berenike III., his step-mother and the legitimate ruler, whereupon he himself fell a victim to the household troops.

p. 505. Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 425. Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 480.

If this king's will bequeathing the kingdom of Egypt to Rome is genuine, we may perhaps believe that he meant something different by this *coup*[2] from the usual conventional policy of state murder: he may have recognised that only by thus extinguishing the line of succession and entrusting his unhappy country to the firm control of Rome could he put an end to the hateful intrigues of his house and the miseries entailed by them on the kingdom. There is nothing, it is true, to prove this except the alleged will and the fact of his stay at Rome, where he may well have learnt to loathe the traditional policy of his ancestors. Moreover, his guards killed him, as Appian tells us, as *ἀτοπώτερον σφῶν, οἷα Σύλλᾳ πεποιθότα, ἐξηγούμενον*.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 426. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 102.

But the plan, if such it was, was frustrated by Egyptian national feeling. An heir to the vacant throne was found in Ptolemy XIII. Neos Dionysos Philopator III. Philadelphus II., 'an illegitimate son of Soter II.' This king is looked on as immediate successor to his step-sister Berenike III., and the two Alexanders are omitted from the official lists of this time, as the claims of Neos Dionysos go back to his father Soter II. and thus exclude these kings from the succession.

Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 483.

Now I would suggest that the so-called 'illegitimacy' of Neos Dionysos was due to a misconception on the part of Greek and Roman historians of Egyptian rights of succession. Pausanias says of Berenike III.:—*ἡ μόνη γνησία οἱ* (*i.e.* Ptolemy Soter II.) *τῶν παιδίων ἦν*. Similarly Strabo implies that the great Cleopatra was illegitimate:—*τοῦτον μὲν οὖν* (Auletes) *οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐξέβαλον, τριῶν δ' αὐτῷ θυγατέρων οὐσῶν, ὧν μία γνησία ἡ πρεσβυτάτη, ταύτην ἀπέδειξαν βασίλισσαν*.[3] Lepsius objects to this state-

Paus. i. 9, 3. Strabo, p. 796. Mah. *Emp Pt.* p. 429. Leps. *Abh. Berl. Ak.* p. 479.

[1] Berenike III. bore the title Philadelphus—a title which seems to have been transferred to her father Soter II. on his return from Cyprus. (Strack, *Dyn. der Ptol.* pp. 4 and 63.)

[2] It does not seem to be absolutely certain that he murdered Berenike: Appian says nothing of the fact.

[3] Champollion-Figeac and Letronne take this to mean 'one of whom (who was) legitimate and the eldest was proclaimed queen.' But this, as Lepsius points out, is linguistically impossible. *op. cit.* p. 479.

ment on the ground that it is highly improbable that such an important fact about the great Cleopatra should only receive this casual mention. He ascribes the misstatement about Berenike to a confusion on the part of Pausanias between Berenike III. and Berenike IV. I believe that in neither case does it mean that the other children were illegitimate, but that the Egyptian idea of the heiress-rights of the eldest daughter confused the Greek mind and led to the misconception that they were so. Besides, it is manifestly absurd to say that Berenike III. was 'the only legitimate' child of Soter II. when we know that he had two children by his second wife and acknowledged queen, Selene.[1]

Leps. *Berl. Ak.* p. 505.

Hence I take both passages as a Greek mistranslation of the Egyptian idea *the eldest daughter* (*and child*) *i.e. the only legitimate heir.* And while on the other hand it seems not unlikely that the claims of the eldest daughter in Egypt (if she was the eldest child) conveyed the idea to the Hellenistic mind that she alone was *γνησία*, it seems possible that the very idea of illegitimacy was foreign to the Egyptians. We have the express statement of Diodorus to this effect:—*γαμοῦσι δὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς μίαν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσας ἂν ἕκαστος προαιρῆται· καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα τρέφουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἕνεκα τῆς πολυανθρωπίας. . . . νόθον δ' οὐδένα τῶν γεννηθέντων νομίζουσιν.*

Diod. i. 80, 3.

I would suggest, therefore, that Neos Dionysos was not illegitimate, but that he was a son of Soter II. and his second wife, Selene, the *younger* sister of Cleopatra IV., and was one of the children repudiated along with her. Lepsius says of Soter II.[2] 'er verstösst Selene mit zwei Kindern.' We do not hear what became of the children. What so likely then as that the Egyptians, on the extinction with the death of Berenike III. of the older branch descended from Cleopatra IV., reverted to the children of the younger sister, queen Selene?

Berl. Abh. Ak. p. 475.

Of the wife of Auletes, Tryphaena Cleopatra V., Lepsius says: 'sie heisst in den Inschriften zugleich Schwester des Königs[3] and scheint daher, wie er selbst, ein illegitimes Kind des Soter gewesen zu sein.' It is not impossible that this is the other child of Selene, whom he immediately proceeds to marry in orthodox Ptolemaic fashion, and thus the succession is duly handed on in the younger line. That Selene considered herself the legitimate heir on the death of her sister is proved by the fact that we hear of her even claiming the throne for her sons by a *later* marriage with Antiochus Grypus. Hence it seems to me extremely unlikely that the two children of her first marriage with her brother Soter II. should not be claimants, if still alive, for the kingdom, and it is to them that one would a priori expect the Egyptians to turn on the extinction of the older branch of the family.

Cic. *in Verrem*, ii. 4, 27.

Mah. *Emp. Pt.* p. 427.

[1] Mr. Mahaffy says: 'I cannot but think that the constant assertion of the illegitimacy of Egyptian princes and princesses was an *invention of Hellenistic historians* in the interest of the Romans.'

[2] Mr. Mahaffy says: 'These two children disappear from history as if they had no right to the throne, unless indeed Auletes was one of them, and he is always spoken of as *illegitimate*.'

Mah. *Rev. Po* Introd. p. xxvii.

[3] One of the king's titles is Philadelphus.

In 58 B.C. Neos Dionysos (Auletes) is banished, and his wife and sister Tryphaena Cleopatra V. reigns with her eldest daughter Berenike IV. as co-regent. The following year Cleopatra V. dies and Berenike IV. reigns alone for a year, during which time she selects and rejects a first king-consort and marries a second. But in 55 B.C. Auletes is restored and puts his daughter to death. On his death in 51 B.C. he left the throne to his daughter Cleopatra VI., his eldest surviving child, and to her brother Ptolemy XIV. Not long after Cleopatra was driven out by the supporters of her brother, but on his death she was once more established as queen with Roman assistance, this time with her younger brother Ptolemy XV. as co-regent and nominal husband, and on the death of her boy-husband she assumed her son Caesarion as co-regent. We possess no inscriptions with the name of Cleopatra and her three successive co-regents, but as Lepsius remarks:—'wahrscheinlich ging ihr Name als des ältesten Kindes dem ihrer Brüder voraus, und die letzteren wurden, wie später ihr Sohn Ptolemy XVI. Caesar, nur als Mitregenten angesehen.' *Berl. Abh. Ak.* p. 506, note 1.

On this theory we see the same stereotyped principle of succession at work throughout the whole of the Ptolemaic period down to the extinction of the race, even Roman intervention conforming to it, and one consistent explanation is found for the most unhellenic feature of Ptolemaic history: whereas Strack (whose book on the Ptolemies appeared after the main part of this paper was written) is obliged to adopt three separate explanations of the brother-and-sister marriages:—*firstly*, in the isolated case of Philadelphus the marriage is explained by Arsinoe's rights to certain cities of the Euxine: *secondly*, in other cases the marriages were due to a desire to avoid dangerous alliances with foreign states: *thirdly*, from Cleopatra II. onwards the princesses had emancipated themselves and were really queens regnant, and the marriages represent an adjustment between the two claimants. Can we believe that the first two shadowy inducements were sufficient to cause this purely Hellenic dynasty to embark on a course so strangely at variance with Greek sentiment? The marriage of Philadelphus alone seems a clear indication that the reaction had already set in, that Philadelphus, whether he would or not, could not stem the advancing tide of *Aegyptisirung* which closed over his successors. And yet we are told (Strack *op. cit.* p. 104) that in the matter of succession the first half of the dynasty 'sind griechischen Sitten getreu geblieben.' Can the persistent mention in public acts of *both* parents of the sovereign be looked on as a Greek custom? Strack assumes two distinct periods: in the first period down to the time of Cleopatra II. the royal princesses had no rights of succession: in the second period they emancipated themselves and 'es war durch diese Gleichstellung der Königin der natürliche Gang der Erbfolge gestört, der nicht besser wieder hergestellt werden konnte, als wenn die zwei Gleichberechtigten durch Heirath ihre Ansprüche vereinigten." Is it more unnatural to assume that the same principle was involved all along, a principle which became more defined certainly in the later half of the dynasty but which was none the less surely at work in the background from the beginning? It is true that the early Strack, *op. cit.* p. 89. Strack *op. cit.* p. 93.

queens of the dynasty were not queens regnant in the sense that the Cleopatras were queens regnant. But from the point of view of the *divinity* of the sovereign their position, I hold, was paramount, and on the divinity of the sovereign depended his recognition as king. Till he was recognised by the priesthood the loyalty of his Egyptian subjects was not worth much. And as Strack says (p. 128) 'eine Consekrierung als Landesgott kann nur von ihnen (*i.e.* the priests) ins Werk gesetzt werden, nur durch sie volle Gültigkeit erlangen.' That such an idea was no new invention of the Hellenistic dynasty there seem sufficient indications on early Egyptian monuments to testify: by a thorough investigation of the principle in Ptolemaic times much light, I believe, might be thrown on Pharaonic history social and political, and the imperfection of the record to some extent supplied.

Erman, p. 73. Of ancient Egyptian royal matrimony Erman says: 'There was only one legal wife, the queen; she was of royal or of high noble birth, and indeed she may have been the "daughter of the god" *i.e.* of the late king, and therefore the Erman, p. 74. sister of her husband.' Again:—'The queen appears as a rule to have been of equal birth with her husband; she took her share in all honours.' 'After the death of her husband the queen still played her part at court, and as *royal mother* had her own property, which was under special state management.' The queen of the Old Empire is called: 'She who sees the gods Horus and Set' (*i.e.* the possessor of both halves of the kingdom); under the New Empire she is called: 'The Consort of the god, the mother of the god, the great consort of the king,' and her name is enclosed like that of her p. 152. husband in a cartouche. Though polygamy is the exception Erman points out that royal double marriages frequently occur; in these one of the two is apparently due to political reasons. Such double marriages are found too in the case of private individuals,[1] for, as Erman adds, 'many daughters of rich men in Egypt possessed valuable rights of inheritance in their father's property.'

p. 155. According to Erman again: 'The esteem which the son felt for his mother was so great that in the tombs of the Old Empire, the mother of the deceased is as a rule represented there with the wife, while the father rarely appears. On the funerary stelae of later times also, it is the usual custom to trace the descent of the deceased on the mother's side, and not as we usually do, on that of the father.' Moreover, the maternal grandfather was considered Erman, p. 156. the natural protector and guardian of a young man. When a youth gets an appointment, then 'the father of his mother thanks God.' In the New Empire a post is conferred on a young man 'for the sake of the father of his

[1] The case of Amony, 'the great man of the South,' who probably died at the beginning of the reign of Amenemhet II., reminds one of Philadelphus and of the relations subsisting Erman, p. 151. between the two first Arsinoes. Of Amony's two wives, one, Nebet-Sochet-ent-Re, may have been his *niece;* she bore him two sons and five daughters; by the other, Hunt, he had certainly three daughters and a son. 'A curious circumstance shows us,' says Erman, 'that the two wives were friends, for the lady Nebet-Sochet-ent-Re called her second daughter Hunt, and the lady Hunt carried her courtesy so far as to name all her three daughters Nebet-Sochet-ent-Re.

mother'; and when he goes to the wars he 'gave his property into the charge of the father of his mother.'

Such prominence of the maternal male relatives is, as we know, a marked feature of the 'maternal system.' Tylor objects to the term Matriarchate: 'The term *matriarchal*,' he says, 'takes it too much for granted that the women govern the family. It is true that in these communities women enjoy greater consideration than in barbaric patriarchal life, but the actual power is rather in the hands of their brothers and uncles on the mother's side.' In the same article he alludes to the custom of the heiress-husband 'where the incoming husband marries the daughter of the house to which he succeeds in his wife's name:' and again 'from Africa may be quoted Livingstone's account of the Banyae in whose country the wives are masters.' 'It is in Africa,' says McLennan, 'that beenah marriage is now most prevalent; there are parts of Africa in which it is quite commonly met with—usually alongside of, and in some sense contending with, a system of marriage by purchase—the two systems, indeed, being generally in use even among the same people, the one preferred in some cases, the other in others.'

Tylor, *Nineteenth Century*, July 1896

McLennan, *Patriarchal Theory*, p. 43.

It would be outside the scope of this essay to examine the traces of similar survivals in other countries. I should like to mention, however, an instance of what appears to me a Hellenic idea based on this Egyptian point of view: I mean the Libyan Medusa (Μέδουσα), 'the reigning lady,' in whose snake-girt head I would trace a Greek representation of the royal uraeus-snake on the reigning queen's crown.[1]

We know from Manetho of a legendary law which under Binothris, a king of the second dynasty, was passed establishing the lawfulness of female succession to the throne.[2] The rule of women, however, as Poole remarks, seems to have been disliked, and the queens' names are omitted in the lists made under dynasty XIX. 'when the royal family seems to have been affected by Semitic influences.' It is in the immediately preceding dynasty, however, that we find the most striking instances of queens regnant and of powerful queens-consort married to a brother. As Erman says: 'In the royal family of the XVIIIth dynasty, we find that A'hmose-nefert-'ere married her brother A'hmose; a lady named *A'hmose*[3] was consort to her brother Thothmes I., and A'rat to her brother Thothmes IV., and so on.' Similarly the bitter rivalry between the brothers Thothmes II. and Thothmes III. and their sister the great queen Hatasu would not strike us as out of place if it were recorded on a page of Ptolemaic history. Hatasu reigned first with the elder of her brothers, Thothmes II., as her husband's co-regent; on his death

Petrie, *Hist. Eg.* vol. i. p. 23. Poole, 'Egypt' (*En. Br.*), p. 731. p. 719.

Erman, p. 154.

Erman, p. 43.

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[1] It would thus be significant that the head of the slain gorgon is depicted on the shield of the motherless Athene, 'the symbol of the overthrow of motherdom and of gynaikocracy' as she has been called. Cf. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage*, p. 258.

McLennan, *Primitive Marriage*, p. 417.

[2] I cannot regard such a law at this early stage as a 'progressive measure': it seems rather to indicate that female succession was ceasing to be looked upon as an undisputed fact—that Egypt was gradually turning its back on the matriarchate and tending towards a system of agnation.

[3] It is surely significant that this queen-consort had the name of a former *king*.

—of which she was perhaps the author—she became sole ruler, though the younger brother, Thothmes III.,[1] was nominally co-regent. After a reign of twenty years she was succeeded by Thothmes III., who forthwith erased her name from the monuments:[2] 'again we cannot help,' says Erman, 'suspecting violence to have been the cause of the change of government.'[3] Hatasu seems to have tried to evade the prejudice against petticoat government by having herself frequently represented in masculine attire and with a beard. In some of her inscriptions she is called 'the king,' though the personal pronouns referring to her remain feminine, such jumbles arising as 'His Majesty herself.' According to Petrie, Hatasu was the sole legitimate heiress of Thothmes I., Thothmes II. being his son by another and not royal wife, and Thothmes III. a nephew of Hatasu. Of Hatasu he says: 'Her father about five or six months before his death associated his daughter with him as she was the heiress in the female line, in which royal descent (like that of private families) was specially traced.' 'It appears that on failing health the king placed the power in the hands of his eldest child, who had the sole right to it by the female inheritance, and then, just a few weeks before his death, married Thothmes II. to her, perhaps to secure his receiving some respect for his position if not for his character.'

p. 43. Rawlinson, *Egypt*, p. 178. Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* vol. ii. pp. 95–96. p. 66.

Two other queens, both belonging to the XVIIIth dynasty, seem to deserve special notice,—Tyi, the wife of Amenhotep III., and Nefertiti, the wife of Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV.). On the question of these ladies' rights we have the conclusive testimony of Mr. Petrie. Of Tyi he says: 'her titles are noticeable: she is called "princess of both lands" and "chief heiress-princess of all lands." These titles seem to imply hereditary right; *indeed it is very doubtful if a king could reign except as the husband of the heiress of the kingdom, the right to which descended in the female line like other property.*' This Tyi was the mother of the heretic king Akhenaten. Petrie says again of her: 'There can be little doubt of the influence of Queen Tyi; she appears closely associated with the king on his monuments, her figure is seen side by side with his on scarabs, her name appears along with the king's on innumerable objects, a temple was built in her honour and she acted as regent for her son during his minority.' 'The beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV. is obscure. That Tyi for a brief time held the power at Tell el Amarna, is indicated by her name appearing alone in a quarry at that place,'—and this though Amenhotep IV. had probably already been associated as co-regent with his father in the years before his marriage.

Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* vol. ii. p. 183. Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* p. 207. Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* vol. ii. p. 208.

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[1] Mr. Petrie, however, calls Thothmes III. a *nephew* of Hatasu. Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* vol. i., p. 66.

[2] According to Mr. Griffith it was the later Rameses II. who caused her name to be replaced by that of Thothmes II., 'not considering Hatasu a legitimate sovereign of Egypt.' By the time of this king's reign Semitic influences were strongly marked.

Eg. Ex. Fund Report 1895-6, p. 7.

[3] As Rawlinson remarks, this great queen is indebted for the continuance of her memory among mankind to the accident that the stone-masons employed to erase her name were too careless or idle to carry out their work completely. It does not seem altogether fanciful, therefore, to believe that the record of other queens may have perished more effectually owing to similar outbursts of hatred on the part of their male relatives or of prejudice in their successors.

Rawlins *Eg.* p.

Of Queen Nefertiti Petrie says: 'That Nefertiti had a hereditary claim to the Egyptian throne, is shown by her titles. She was "the great heiress-princess of all women" and "princess of South and North, the lady of both lands." These titles, like those of Tyi, imply an hereditary right to rule Egypt.' p. 209.

It is unnecessary to point out the similarity of these titles to those applied, as we have seen above, to Arsinoe Philadelphus.

Thus there seems sufficient evidence to show that the position of Arsinoe II. and of subsequent Ptolemaic queens was by no means anomalous in Egypt, but was based on Pharaonic precedent.

It is certainly more difficult and hazardous to maintain that such a position of women was a survival from the Matriarchate, and to assign to its place in the development of society in the direction of Agnation such a custom as brother-and-sister marriages.[1] On the other hand the assumption that these rights of women, which, as we have seen, go back to the beginnings of Egyptian history, were due to a huge progressive movement, is surely far more incredible when one remembers how slowly the current of change flows—or rather stagnates—in all other aspects of the history of that nation.[2]

It seems to me from all these facts given above that brother-and-sister marriages in Egypt may have been a relic of some primitive system of marriage based on female rights of property; that such marriages point to a stage of growing prejudice against women's rights of inheritance and to an attempt at compromise;[3] that these rights and this compromise were supported by the priesthood and notably by the Osiric cult (with its supreme tenet, the holy marriage of Osiris and Isis), in deference to the less civilised portion of the Egyptian nation: hence that it is this controversial and transitional stage that is most prominent under the New Empire and in Ptolemaic history.

This, I think, is corroborated by the fact that it is the *divine* rights of the queen that are most insisted on. All political rights claimed for her were based emphatically on her rights as a *deity*, as we see in the case of the transference of the *ἀπόμοιρα* in Ptolemaic times; and hence, too, the importance of the different stages of her deification. We may almost look on the exaggeration of the spiritual claims made for her as a sort of compensation to her for the loss of temporal power, the salve with which the troubled

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McLennan, *Primitive Marriage*, chap. vii. Diod. i. 80. Strabo, 17, 824. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ch. vi.

[1] To do so would involve the question whether primitive Egyptians were endogamous or exogamous. It seems probable at any rate that the Egyptians did not practise infanticide.

[2] Traces of the former independence of Egyptian women seem to have survived down to the present day. Mr. Lane says of modern Egypt: 'I believe that in Egypt the women are generally under less restraint than in any other country of the Turkish Empire.'

[3] Cf. Numbers, ch. xxvii. 1–11 and xxxvi.; also Lewy—de Civili Condicione Mulierum Graecarum (Vratislaviae, 1885), p. 59: Si cui neque filii sunt legitimi nec a defunctis filiis nepotes, e lege iam Mosaica hereditatem filiae consequuntur; quarum quidem nubere intra gentem est, ut conservetur res familiaris. In Graecia de filia hereditaria praecipuae leges scriptae exstant, ut nomen familiae ne exstinguatur. Quanquam filiae non ipsae heredes esse, sed una cum heredio proximis genere obtingere videntur.

public conscience soothed itself while gradually depriving her of actual political power.

This applies, I believe, to the rights not only of the queen but of women in all ranks. Thus we find that in the New Empire women assume a new and important rôle in connection with temple ritual. In all temples we find female singers or musicians in great numbers. Indeed Erman says: 'we scarcely meet with one lady under the New Empire, whether she were married or single, the wife of an ecclesiastic or of a layman, whether she belonged to the family of a high-priest or to that of an artizan, who was not thus connected with a temple.'[1] Wiedemann says that at this time almost every god and goddess had a priestess.

Erman, p. 295. Cf. Wiedemann, Herod. ii. p. 151.

op. cit. p. 152.

It is precisely this sacred side of woman's functions that we should expect to find preserved among the changes of developing civilisation.[2] Professor Ramsay shows how in the religion of Phrygia traces of the earlier Lydian substratum of the Matriarchate are preserved, while socially the Patriarchate established by the conquering Phrygians has all but blotted out the native system. He says: 'long after a higher type of society had come into existance in Phrygia, the religion preserved the facts of the primitive society, but it became esoteric, and the facts were only set forth in the mysteries.' Similarly, whatever the incoming patriarchal element was in Egypt—whether Semitic or not—it is, I believe, in the religious side of native life that we must look for the most certain traces of the older state of society, and I have tried to show that it is chiefly the Osiric system which affords such survivals; and hence the greater development and diffusion of that cult and its adoption in a fashion as the state religion by the Ptolemaic government would explain an apparent revival of principles which seem to have formed a dim and half-realised background throughout Egyptian history —'the dust of antique time' which has lain unswept in the most conservative of all lands, inhabited by a people *θεοσεβέες περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων.*

Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 7.

op. cit. p. 94.

RACHEL EVELYN WHITE.

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[1] Cf. Can. St. ll. 64–73 for these clerical and lay (*ταῖς ἄλλαις παρθένοις ταῖς βουλομέναις*) female temple-musicians in Ptolemaic times. By this decree the wives and daughters of the priests come in for a share of the *τροφαὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν* as priestesses of the dead princess Berenike.

[2] Cf. the Greek woman's power of manumission: Lewy—de Civili Condicione Mulierum Graecarum (Vratislaviae, 1885), p. 25: manumittendi potestatem propterea feminae habent quod antiquitus in libertatem vindicari servus non poterat nisi alicui deo consecratus qui hierodulus fieret (Curtius, *Anecd. Delph.* p. 10 *sqq.*): consecrare autem ipsi mulieri licet.

For a similar religious survival cf. the institution at Rome of the rex sacrificulus on the abolition or rather disintegration of the kingship.

ILLUSTRATIONS TO BACCHYLIDES.

[PLATE XIV.]

THE EDITORS of this *Journal* have reason to think that a considerable body of its readers will be glad to be furnished with reproductions of the monuments, mainly vase paintings, that are discussed in connexion with Bacchylides. Even those to whom the published illustrations are readily accessible will probably find it convenient to have them brought together for reference, in a collection made from this point of view.[1]

III. *The story of Croesus.*—In the story as told by Bacchylides, Croesus voluntarily ascends his pyre, with wife and daughters; he invokes the gods, and more especially Apollo; he orders the pyre to be kindled; Zeus extinguishes the flames, and Apollo takes Croesus and his children to the land of the Hyperboreans. According to Herodotus, Croesus with his companions is placed on the pyre by order of Cyrus. After Cyrus has changed his mind, and his servants have made ineffectual attempts to extinguish the pyre, Croesus invokes Apollo, who extinguishes the flames. Fig. 1[2] shows the well-known vase in the Louvre, representing the subject. It had already been interpreted, before the discovery of Bacchylides, as evidence of an alternative version of the story, in which the sacrifice was voluntary.[3] Croesus sits enthroned, and makes a solemn libation, while an attendant Euthymos is busy with the pyre. Some of the commentators interpret the objects that he holds as torches, but they are quite unlike torches, as usually represented (cf. *J.H.S.* xi. Pl. 6), and resemble more nearly the whisks for sprinkling lustral water. If this is the correct interpretation their use further emphasises the ceremonial character of the scene.

The vase is an early red-figured one, dating from the close of the 6th century or the first years of the 5th century B.C.[4]

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[1] M. Theodore Reinach's edition (*Poèmes Choisis de Bacchylide...par Eugène D'Eichthal et T. R.*), which has appeared since this article was put in hand, has to some extent covered the same ground, for those parts of the poet with which he deals. The same monuments appear, in several cases, in both collections, but this is inevitable in connexion with the less-frequent myths.

[2] *Monumenti dell' Inst.* i., Pl. 54; Welcker, *Alte Denkmaeler*, Pl. 33; Baumeister, *Denkmaeler*, p. 796; Reinach, p. 25, etc.

[3] E. Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, 6th ed., i., p. 574.

[4] Cf. notes by H. Stuart Jones and Miss Harrison, *Class. Rev.* 1898, pp. 84, 85; Jebb, *Mélanges Henri Weil*, p. 237.

The extinction of a pyre by the influence of Zeus is strikingly illustrated by the vase of Python,[1] in Vol. XI. Pl. 6 of the *Hellenic Journal*. There Alcmene is seated on an altar, before which the pyre is piled,[2] and Antenor and Amphitryon apply the torches. Zeus listens to the appeal of Alcmene,

Fig. 1.

and has cast his thunder-bolts. Copious rain is poured on the pyre by the Hyades, and also falls from a rainbow-like cloud.

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[1] A red-figured crater in Brit. Mus., No. F. 149. Formerly at Castle Howard. Late fourth century B.C.

[2] Murray, *J.H.S.* xi., p. 226.

The poet does not say in what way the god conveyed Croesus and his family to the country of the Hyperboreans, but one may guess that on this occasion, if the poet had been more explicit, he would have given him the swan rather than the Gryphon or the Tripod.

The Gryphon was primarily an artistic type, inherited by the Greeks from the East, and thence introduced into literature, and not in the first instance, with special reference to Apollo. In literature, it curiously happens that the earliest passages that have been pointed out, which definitely refer to the Gryphon as an attribute of Apollo, are in Claudian[1] and Sidonius Apollinaris.[2] In art, the association of the Gryphon with Apollo is not common before the 4th century. Apollo also travels on his Tripod, but not on a Hyperborean expedition.

On the other hand, Alcaeus[3] had sung how Apollo had travelled in a chariot, drawn by swans, from Delos to the Hyperboreans, and from the Hyperboreans to Delphi. When Pindar describes how Apollo carried off Cyrene to Africa, he says that he bore her in a golden chariot.[4] A late gem, at St. Petersburg,[5] shows the rape. Apollo stands in a chariot, drawn by a pair of swans, and clasps Cyrene by the waist with his right hand.

V. *Heracles and Meleager.*—This episode has already been the subject of much discussion.[6] I need only indicate the artistic types involved.

Heracles and Cerberus. For this type, see the drawing published elsewhere[7] in the present volume of the *Hellenic Journal* from a late sixth-century black-figured vase, recently acquired by the British Museum.[8] No monument has been identified with the conversation between Heracles and Meleager.

The Death of Meleager is vividly represented on a large Amphora from Armento, in the National Museum at Naples,[9] of about 400 B.C. (Fig. 2).

The young Meleager is seen in agony, supported by his brother and sister, Tydeus and Deianeira, while a third figure, who has been variously named, but is probably Althaea, approaches in haste from the left. Oineus stands as a spectator. Above him is another group of Aphrodite and Eros. Near Eros, where his name might be expected, is the inscription φθόνος. It would be out of harmony with the usual direct simplicity of vase inscriptions, if we look for any conceit, such as that Love and Envy are near akin. It has been suggested

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[1] *De VI. Cons. Honor.* 30.

[2] *Carm.* ii. 307; xxii. 67. See Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1864, p. 57.

[3] Bergk, *Poetae Lyr. Gr.*, 4th ed. iii., Alcaeus. 2-4.

[4] Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 6.

[5] Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie* iv., p. 495.

[6] Robert, *Hermes* xxxiii., p. 151; Croiset, *Mélanges Henri Weil*, p. 73; Reinach, p. 4.

[7] *J.H.S.* xviii., p. 295.

[8] For black-figured vases, see Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pls. 129–131. For red-figured vases, see *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Series E, Pls. 1–4. For a list of forty-nine representations of the subject, see Walters, *J.H.S.* xviii., p. 296.

[9] *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, Pls. 220, 221; pp. 33, 97. Heydemann, *Vasensammlungen des Mus. Nazionale zu Neapel*, Santangelo, No. 11 (where see references to earlier literature). Roscher, *Lexikon*, ii., p. 2620; Reinach, *Bacchylide*, p. 5.

as a possible explanation that the inscription refers to a personification that has been omitted in the transcript from a larger composition.

Peleus and Theseus sit below in the attitude of mourners. They are probably introduced as two of the most noted of the companions of Meleager in the Boar hunt.

The reverse of the vase has a scene in the lower world with Heracles leading Cerberus—but unfortunately without Meleager.

FIG. 2.

IX. *Death of Archemoros.*—This subject occurs on several monuments,[1] but in no case in such a way as to contribute to the interpretation of line 13.

The serpent is attacked by several of the heroes, while the child lies near, or encircled by it, but there does not appear to be any representation of the moment before the death of the child.

[1] Overbeck, *Gallerie Heroischer Bildwerke*, Pls. 3, 4; *White Athenian Vases in Brit. Mus.* Pl. 18.

The funeral rites are shown on a large vase now in the National Museum at Naples, and frequently published.[1] In the foreground, the body of Archemoros is laid out on a couch, tended by several persons, of whom the Pedagogue alone is named. Above, within a tetrastyle Ionic building, is Eurydice in conversation with Hypsipyle and Amphiaraos. To the right are Parthenopaios and Capaneus, to the left Euneos, and probably Thoas, the sons of Hypsipyle. In the upper tier are Zeus and Nemea (on the right) Dionysos and a Satyr, restored, (on the left.)

Fig. 3.

Thebe (ix. 54 and x. 30) is seen personified on the Cadmos vase of the late Italian painter Assteas[2] (Fig. 3). She is shown as a female figure seated above the spring which is guarded by the dragon.

It is probable that she also occurs on a kindred vase now in the Louvre[3] as a richly dressed maiden, who watches Cadmos making his onslaught on the dragon.

XI. *The healing of the daughters of Proetos.*—This legend has hitherto been known in two principal forms:—

(1) Melampus, with the aid of a band of vigorous young men, chased the Proetidae to Sikyon. Iphinoe, the eldest of the daughters, died on the road, and the others were cured.[4]

(2) Melampus cured the Proetidae at Lusus or Lusi.[5]

Bacchylides places the cure at Lusus, but altogether omits to mention

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[1] Heydemann, No. 3255; Overbeck, *l.c.* Pl. 4, Fig. 3.

[2] Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, Pl. 27.

[3] Millin-Dubois Maisonneuve ii., Pl. 7: S. Reinach, *Peintures de Vases antiques, recueillies par Millin*, etc., ii. 7.

[4] Apollodorus, *Bibl.* ii. 29; cf. Paus. ii. 7, 8.

[5] Paus. viii. 18, 7.

the agency of Melampus. The bringing of Melampus to Lusi seems to be due to a confusion of two stories, but that it was current in late times is shown *e.g.* by the epigram over the fountain near Lusi—

φεῦγε δ' ἐμὴν πηγὴν μισάμπελον ἔνθα Μελάμπους
λυσάμενος λύσσης Προιτίδας ἀργαλέης[1] κ.τ.λ.

The subject is believed to be represented on a fourth-century vase in the National Museum at Naples[2] (Fig. 4). Three maidens are grouped in humble positions round and near a xoanon before which is an altar, and a tripod on an Ionic column. The xoanon is probably that of Artemis.[3]

On the left are an elderly figure with a sceptre, and a rustic old man, who has been called Silenus, with a thyrsus. On the right is Dionysos.

On the version of the legend which brings Melampus to Lusus, the bearded man has been so named. One of the three maidens, the wild figure behind the column, has been called Lussa or Madness by Wieseler,[4] on the ground that Iphinoe is already dead.

If, however, we study the vase in connexion with the text of Bacchylides, the bearded man would be Proetos, who comes to Lusus, and makes a prayer to Artemis on behalf of his daughters.

The presence of Dionysos as a spectator may be due to the fact that according to Hesiod (so at least we are told by Apollodorus[5]) the madness of the daughters was due to their not accepting the mysteries of Dionysos.

It may be supposed that there was already a cult of Artemis at Lusus, when Proetos made his prayer there, but in any case it is a very easy prolepsis for the artist to show us the altar, xoanon, tripod and votive tablets indicating the temenos which was established by Proetos in gratitude for the cure.

A cameo,[6] formerly in the possession of M. de Witte, was thought by its owner to represent the same scene. In this instance the supposed Melampus holds up a young pig, which was specially employed for rites of purification in the case of persons recovering from insanity. If, however, it is correctly interpreted the cameo evidently represents a different version from that of Bacchylides.

XIII. *Heracles and the Nemean Lion.*—The invulnerability of the Lion, upon which the poet lays stress, was not a fixed point in the story as told by the early vase painters.

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[1] Vitr. viii. 3, 21.

[2] Millingen, *Vases Antiques*, Pl. 52, and S. Reinach, *op. cit.* Millingen 52; Heydemann, No. 1760; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmaeler* i., Pl. 2, No. 11; De Witte, *Gaz. Arch.* v., p. 126; Frazer, *Pausanias* iv., p. 259.

[3] It has also been thought to be an image of Hera. According to Acusilaos, the Proetidae had gone mad because they 'disparaged a xoanon of Hera.'

[4] In Müller's *Denkmaeler*, *l.c.* Compare the introduction of Lussa by Euripides in the *Hercules Furens* and of Mania in the vase of Assteas, *Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. 10.

[5] *Bibl.* ii. 26.

[6] De Witte, *Gaz. Arch.* v., Pl. 19, Fig. 1; cf. De Witte, *ibidem.*

FIG. 4.

The scheme of the strangling occurs in the majority of the black-figured vases[1] and in the more occasional red-figured representations of the scene. But the sword also occurs, *e.g.* on the black-figured amphora in the British Museum, No. B 160 (Fig. 5), and elsewhere.[2] In literature, the invulnerability of the brute is suggested by Pindar (*Isthm.* v. 47) and explained by Bacchylides and Theocritos (xxv. 274). This, however, may fairly be regarded as a case in which the current artistic type gives the lead to the poets. The wrestling scheme was predominant, and was accounted for by the tale of invulnerability.

Fig. 5.

XVI. *The last sacrifice of Heracles.*—A scene of preparation for the sacrifice on Mount Kenaion by Heracles, in the presence of Lichas and Hyllos (?), is represented on certain fragments at St. Petersburg,[3] derived from a sort of Monte Testaccio, near Kertch (Fig. 6). Heracles appears to have put on the robe (we know from Sophocles that he had time to sacrifice

[1] Cf. the collected list of types, Walters, *B. M. Catalogue of Vases*, ii., p. 13.

[2] Cf. the vases quoted by Reisch, *Athen. Mitt.* 1887, p. 123.

In the group dedicated by Hippotion of Tarentum at Olympia, Heracles used the bow Paus. v. 25, 7.

[3] Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1869, Pl. 4, Fig. 1 and (more complete) *ib.* 1876, Pl. 5, Fig. 1.

the first twelve of his hecatomb before the poison began to work) and holds out with both hands the fillet for the adornment of one of the victims.

Bacchylides introduces a new incident in his account of the events on Mount Kenaion, when he includes victims sacrificed in honour of Athene and Poseidon. This raises once more the question of the interpretation of certain fragments already published in this *Journal*.[1] Heracles assisted by two youths

Fig. 6.

Li[chas] and Philoctetes (?) is sacrificing at a stone altar, before a draped xoanon, while Athene herself stands and watches the ceremony.

[1] C. Smith, *J.H.S.* ix. Pl. 1, p. 1; again in *Cat. of Vases in the British Museum*, iii., Pl. 16, No. E 494. In the later publication the fragment at the right of *J.H.S.*, Pl. 1 is shown as part of the Heracles; the Athene is disconnected from the other fragments; ΛΙ (part of Lichas ?) is preserved above the youth.

The subject has been called, by several interpreters, Heracles sacrificing at the altar of Chryse, and by Mr. C. Smith, writing before the discovery of the ΛΙ, a sacrifice on the Acropolis.

The presence of Lichas strongly suggests the sacrifice on Mount Kenaion, while Philoctetes might be introduced in place of Hyllos, through some confusion between the sacrifice on Mount Kenaion, and the subsequent self-immolation on Mount Oeta.[1] That Bacchylides should include a sacrifice to Athene, removes a part of the difficulty of finding her so conspicuous, where Zeus was the deity to be honoured. The presence, however, of Philoctetes at the sacrifice, shows that the fragments cannot be made to agree plainly with any known form of the story in literature.

XVII. *Theseus and the Ring.*—The story of the descent of Theseus in pursuit of the ring and the wreath, has been closely analysed by Prof. Robert, in successive papers.

He has pointed out that the story consists of two elements, namely the giving of the wreath by Amphitrite and the story of the ring. Both incidents are mentioned by late authorities, by Hyginus and by Pausanias describing the picture of Mikon in the Theseion, but we do not know that both were represented by Mikon, since Pausanias expressly states that Mikon did not tell the whole story, though he does not say what part was omitted.

Judging from the vases first known (nos. 1–3 below), the incident of the ring seemed to be comparatively recent, and its invention was formerly attributed by Prof. Robert to Euripides. The Tricase vase (no. 4), if it in fact contains a representation of the ring, points to an older source than Euripides for the ring incident, and this is now proved by Bacchylides.[2] The fact, however, that Bacchylides has nothing to say about the recovery of the ring seems to show a want of homogeneity in the story. Also, it seems to indicate that it is not he who devised the incident. A poet who conceived the story would probably make it complete, and would hardly omit the conclusion of the finding of the ring on the ground that beside the present of Amphitrite it became quite insignificant.[3]

The illustrations that follow are taken from the four red-figured vases at present known, which deal with this subject. In two, the principal action is between Theseus and Amphitrite, and in the other two it is between Theseus and Poseidon.

(1) Cup of Euphronios,[4] in the Louvre—a very fine red-figured vase found at Caere, of about 500 B.C. (Plate XIV.).

Theseus, who is supported under his feet by a Triton, greets Amphitrite,

[1] See the observations by Mr. Murray, prefixed to E. 494, in the *Cat. of Vases*, iii.

[2] Robert, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 141; *Marathonschlacht in der Poikile*, p. 50; *Hermes*, xxxiii., p. 132. Cf. Jebb, *Mélanges Henri Weil*, p. 235, Miss Harrison, *Class. Review*, 1898, p. 85.

[3] Robert, *Hermes*, *l.c.* p. 140.

[4] We owe the new illustration of the vase to the kindness of Mr. A. van Branteghem. See also *Mon. Grecs. de l'Ass. d'Études Grecs*, 1872, Pl. 1; Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 182; Reinach, Pl. 4, etc. The new drawing by M. Devillard gains greatly in force and effect as compared with the older, but excellent, engraving, by having the internal blacks rendered as solid.

FIG. 7.

in the presence of Athene. Three swimming dolphins mark the sea. The wreath is not shown.

(2) Crater, in the Museo Civico at Bologna[1]—a fifth century red-figured vase (Fig. 7).

In this vase, Theseus, supported by a Triton, clasps in suppliant manner the knees of Amphitrite, who holds out the wreath in both hands. Below, Poseidon reclines on a couch, like one who is in his own house—on the right an Eros is pouring out wine for him—and watches the scene. On the left we see the stern of the ship of Theseus, and Helios rising from the waves. Here also the ring seems to have no part in the story.

(3) Vase from Girgenti,[2] now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—an early fifth century red-figured crater (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8.

Poseidon, enthroned, clasps the hand of the young Theseus who stands before him. Poseidon is identified not only by his trident, but also by the decorative row of dolphins on his foot-stool. Behind Poseidon stands a

[1] Ghirardini, *Museo Italiano di Ant. Class.* iii., p. 1, Pl. I.; Furtwaengler and Robert, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 141; Reinach, p. 66; Robert, *Nekyia des Polygnot*, p. 41; *Hermes* xxxiii., p. 135.

[2] *Mon. dell'Inst.* i., Pls. 52, 53; De Luynes, *Descr. de quelques Vases peints*, Pls. 21, 22; Welcker, *Alte Denkmaeler*, Pl. 25, Reinach, p. 64 (reverse *ibid.* p. 61).

Nereid, or perhaps Amphitrite, holding up the wreath. Here also there is no indication of the ring, though the main action is with Poseidon.

On the reverse of the vase, a seated figure, probably a Nereid, seems to be twisting the wreath. She sits between a figure with oinochoe and patera, ready to pour a libation, and a figure with hand extended as if she is speaking.

(4) Vase of the middle of the fifth century, found at Ruvo, and now in the possession of the Princess di Tricase[1] (Fig. 9).

Theseus and Poseidon clasp hands. The other figures are Nereus, a figure prepared to pour a libation as in the last example, and a figure with the wreath.

Fig. 9.

In his left hand Theseus holds what has been described as a box or shell, and assuming that the draughtsman has correctly understood his vase, this may be, as Petersen suggests, a receptacle for the ring. It looks, however, in the drawing as if it might be a fold of drapery brought over the girdle, and it would be strange if the ingenuity of the vase painter could not approach nearer to a representation of the ring, than a case to hold it. It is noticeable that in the figure on the right the hand and drapery have evidently been wrongly drawn. In any case, however, this is the only attempt that the vase painters make to represent the ring incident.

[1] Petersen, *Roemische Mittheilungen* ix., Pl. 8; Reinach, p. 79.

The red-figured vase in the Brit. Mus. E 264 (*Wiener Vorlegebl.* 1890–91, Pl. 3), interpreted as Theseus recognised by his parents, is in many respects parallel to the Tricase vase.

FIG. 10.

A scene from the François vase[1] is also quoted by Mr. Kenyon, at the instance of Mr. van Branteghem, as having reference to the incident (Fig. 10).

In this we have the ship of Theseus close to the shore to which it is drawn up, stern first. One nude figure swims ashore, while the occupants of the ship express emotion and surprise in various ways. Theseus, as a citharist, leads in set array the seven youths and seven maids, who walk alternately, hand in hand, led by Epiboia or Eriboia.

It is at first sight an attractive suggestion that the swimming figure is Theseus, but the objections adduced by Prof. Robert seem conclusive. The action takes place close to the shore, while Bacchylides, Pausanias and the Bologna vase represent the action as taking place at sea. Also the whole band probably represents a single incident, and the festal procession is most appropriate to the subsequent landing at Delos.

XIII. *Theseus.*—The Theseus cycle is already well represented in this *Journal* by several vases, to which it is only necessary to give a reference.

(1) Kylix in the British Museum, No. E. 84[2] (*J.H.S.* ii. pl. 10, p. 57, for the interior. The same scenes are repeated on the outside of the vase.).

(2) Kylix, formerly in the collection of Mr. Tricoupi (*J.H.S.* x. pl. 1, p. 231.).

(3) Fragment of a kylix from the De Luynes collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*J.H.S.* x. pl. 2, p. 234.)

(4) Kylix at Vienna, with Theseus and Skiron (*J.H.S.* ix. p. 272.).

For further lists of Theseus vases, see Milani, in *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*, iii. p. 209, pls. 2–4.

A. H. SMITH.

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[1] From *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv., Pl. 56, supplemented with notes supplied by Mr. Cecil Torr.

[2] Reproduced by Reinach, p. 45.

ON SOME BLACK-FIGURED VASES RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLATES XV.—XVII.]

SINCE the publication of the official catalogue (Volume II.) in 1893 the British Museum has been enriched by several black-figured vases of considerable interest and importance, which I propose to describe and discuss in this paper. Excluding the Odysseus and Kirke vase which I published in vol. xiii of this Journal, the total number amounts to eight, one of which bears an artist's signature, while another is a unique example of a very interesting class. Three others again are interesting from a typological point of view. I will take the vases in a roughly chronological order.

I.

Corinthian oinochoe, 8 in. high, from Aegina (Fig. 1). It has a trefoil mouth and squat neck round which is a moulded ring. The handle does not rise above the mouth of the vase, and is quite plain, with cylindrical section. The vase is in good condition, except that the foot is somewhat chipped, and the black varnish is dull and frayed on the lip. It has been imperfectly fired, and the varnish has turned to red in some places. The clay ground is of a buff colour, and the clay itself appears to be rather gritty in texture.

The design presents no very remarkable features. In the centre stands a Siren to the right, of a type frequently occurring on Corinthian vases. Her hair is long, and falls in masses on the neck, and on the top of her head is what appears to be a small fillet. The wings are recurved, and are spread out on either side of the body, the left one being advanced at an impossible angle, in that false perspective of archaic art which arises from the desire to render as much as possible of an object visible at once.

On either side of the Siren is a panther turned in her direction, but with face towards the spectator; their tails are curled over their backs. The field is decorated with ten rosettes of the usual type, but instead of being scattered about promiscuously they are arranged symmetrically along the upper and lower edges of the design. The rest of the vase is varnished except for a narrow band of clay left visible towards the bottom of the body.

The style of the decoration is rather like that on a lebes from Naukratis in the Museum (B 101), which appears to have Corinthian affinities.

II.

Amphora (Plate XV. and Fig. 2) of the class formerly known as Tyrrhenian, and now usually called Corintho-Attic, but which may perhaps be more conveniently styled Peloponnesian.[1] It was probably found in Italy. The vase stands 15 in. in height, and presents in its shape the usual features of this class, a slim neck separated from the shoulder by a plastic ring, plain handles, and slim egg-shaped body not marked off from the shoulder. The mouth, handles, and foot are covered with black varnish, which, however, is much frayed; two rings of purple have been painted round the foot with a brush while the vase was on the wheel. The decoration of the body is arranged in three friezes, the upper one being considerably wider than the

Fig. 1.—Corinthian Oinochoe.

other two; on the latter are bands of animals. On either side of the neck is an ornament consisting of a combined lotos-flower and palmette, from which extend tendrils, those on the one side meeting those on the other except where they are interrupted by the handles. The lotos-flowers have three petals, as always on Attic vases, opposed to the Corinthian and Chalcidian vases, on which they have only two. Round the shoulder is a roughly-painted 'tongue-pattern' in alternate purple and black, and round the foot

[1] See Loeschcke in *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 108.

tapering rays shoot up. The foot has been repaired and apparently repainted, but otherwise the vase is in good condition.

The 'Peloponnesian' vases have been collected and discussed by Holwerda in the *Jahrbuch d. Arch. Inst.* 1890, p. 237ff.; an interesting one has since been added to the list by Hauser (*op. cit.*, 1893, p. 93). Holwerda gives a list of fifty, of which forty-six are amphorae; two are in the British Museum, (B 47 and B 48), and twenty-six in the Louvre. Most of their typical features are illustrated by the vase here described, as is pointed out incidentally in the following discussion of it. Their style is for the most

FIG. 2.—PELOPONNESIAN AMPHORA: Reverse.

part coarse and clumsy, but often rises to a higher standard of merit. The lines are often mechanically drawn and lifeless, a result of the slavish imitation of Corinthian prototypes. Details of drapery are seldom shown; although the dresses are often richly decorated, yet the folds are never indicated. The date of this series is probably not later than the middle of the sixth century B.C.

The inscriptions are a very interesting and important feature of the class. Like those on our vase they are generally in the Attic alphabet, but from time to time a Corinthian or Chalcidian letter occurs,[1] which may be dis-

[1] *e.g.* the ♀ and ꟾ on Berlin Cat. 1704, and the Chalcidian < on Brit. Mus. B 47 (see *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* 1890, p. 243, No. 34).

tinguished even in the meaningless imitations of inscriptions which occur on so many examples. This is of course another result of copying; and a curious development is the occurence of two forms of the same letter side by side as in the ϘK and ΒΕ of the Berlin vase (1704). As regards the meaningless inscriptions, the same combinations of letters have been noted as occurring on different vases, and the collocations seem at times to be due to something else than mere chance.

The ordinary scheme of decoration on these vases is as follows: On the obverse, a mythological subject, on a wide band extending from the neck half-way down the body; this is balanced at the back by a genre-scene of some kind, combats, riders, or dancers, or even animals. The painter appears to have devoted all his energies to the mythological scene, and for the other to have employed only stock types from his repertory. Sometimes these seem to be merely decorative. Or again, we get a single figure taken from a large composition (see Loeschcke in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1876, p. 108 ff.). Below these are almost invariably two friezes of animals.

The range of mythological subjects is not very extensive, and all the subjects are characteristic of early b. f. vases. Commonest are: Nessos carrying off Deianeira; Combat of Herakles with Amazons; Birth of Athena; and Calydonian boar-hunt. Other subjects which only occur on isolated examples are: Herakles and the Hydra; Perseus and the Gorgons; Theseus and the Minotaur; the Niobidae; Prometheus; Combat over the body of Troilos. Dionysos appears once, accompanied by Satyrs and Maenads; but Bacchic scenes are always rare on early b. f. vases. The chief subject of the vase now under discussion occurs also on the specimen published by Hauser in the *Jahrbuch* (*loc. cit.*).

Our vase is no exception to the general rule for scheme of decoration. The chief subject, as is plain at a glance, represents the Sacrifice of Polyxena. This we will now proceed to describe in detail. In the centre of the scene, on the level of the ground, is seen a mound-shaped object, with a flat top. It is not easy to say whether this is intended for the tomb of Achilles or an altar; probably the former, although the usual type of tomb on black-figured vases is in the shape of a conical tumulus (*e.g.* B 239, B 543 in British Museum). It is decorated with a diaper pattern of alternate plain purple squares and black squares on which crosses are incised with white dots between the arms. On or behind the tomb is a sort of stand or table, on which a fire burns; this of course may be intended for an altar, like that on the B.M. vase, B 80; but for a mound-shaped altar, compare the *βωμός* on another vase of this class, similarly decorated (Munich 124 = Gerhard, *A. V.* 223).

On the left of the altar, Neoptolemos strides forward to deal the decisive blow to Polyxena. In his right hand he holds the sword, which he plunges into her neck; a purple stream of blood gushes out from the wound. His left hand he places on Polyxena's head with a view to steadying himself. He is armed in the usual Greek fashion, but one or two small details of his costume call for notice. On the cheek-pieces of his helmet and on his

greaves are borders of small white dots, which appear to be intended for the stitch-holes generally seen in bronze helmets or greaves.[1] His short, close-fitting chiton is painted white and is apparently of fine crinkled linen; his cuirass is coloured purple. He is apparently intended to be bearded, but the hairs are not indicated.

The body of Polyxena is carried up by three men, and is held in a horizontal position, quite straight and rigid, the chest downwards, and the head slightly raised towards Neoptolemos. One is at once reminded of the type of Odysseus and his companions boring out the eye of Polyphemos; the pole is carried in very much the same fashion by the three men. That type does not occur on any vases of this class, but as it is found as early as the Aristonofos vase,[2] the composition under notice may well be a reminiscence of it. It is a type that belongs almost exclusively to the early black figure period, and must have been well established by this time.

The flesh of Polyxena is painted white where it is visible, with a thin incised line on the neck to indicate a necklace; her hair curls over the forehead and falls in a long thick wavy mass down the back. She is dressed in a long chiton which is adorned with incised crosses and purple spots; the dress lies stiff and devoid of folds. We are reminded of the line in the *Hecuba* (569): *πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν.* Her name is inscribed above her: ƎИƎ+ϞVꓘOᒣ. The alphabet, as in the case of the other inscriptions, is purely Attic; it may be noted that the +ϟ are treated as one letter, and therefore not written retrograde as in the name of Phoenix below. Her three bearers are Amphilochos, Antiphates, and Ajax son of Oïleus, who hold respectively the upper part of her body round the breast, her waist and thighs, and her feet. They also have their names inscribed: ϞO+OꓘIΦMA, ϞƎTAΦITMA, AIAϞ IꓘIAΔE[Ϟ.[3] The three warriors are all armed with swords, and wear helmet, cuirass and greaves; these are ornamented with patterns in purple and white.

The names of Amphilochos and Antiphates call for some remark not merely on account of their epigraphical form. Neither name is to be found in the *Iliad*, but Antiphates is mentioned by Tryphiodoros, 180, and Tzetzes (*Post-Hom.* 648) as one of the warriors who were inside the Wooden Horse, and Amphilochos the son of Amphiaraos by Quintus Smyrnaeus (xii. 322) in a similar list.[4] One is tempted to see in the name *Ἀνφίλοχος* an error for *Ἀντίλοχος*, and the son of Nestor (Quint. Smyrn. ii. 244) would be appropriate here in the company of his father (*v. infra*). In the description by Quintus Smyrnaeus of the sacrifice of Polyxena (xiv. 257 ff.) no mention is made of any of these heroes, nor do their names occur elsewhere on vases; so that it is difficult to account for their selection here.

[1] *E.g. B. M. Cat. of Bronzes*, Nos. 74, 249, 2821, 2828, &c.

[2] *Mon. dell'Inst.* ix. 4; cf. also *ibid*, i. 7, fig. 2; Brit. Mus. B 154; Berlin 2123.

[3] The forms *Ἀνφίλοχος*, *Ἀμτιφάτης* seem to suggest a reciprocal confusion between the *μ* of *ἀμφί* and the *ν* of *ἀντί*; but see *infra*.

[4] In *Quint. Smyrn.* xiv. 366, Amphilochos remains with Calchas at Troy after the departure of the Greeks. He was a seer, and would therefore be appropriately present at a sacrifice, as Calchas on the *Tabula Iliaca*. There is another Antiphates mentioned in *Od.* xv. 242 as grandfather of Amphiaraos.

The title Αἴας Ἰλιάδης (for Ὀϊλιάδης) is of course unusual. As a rule where the name of Ajax Oïliades or Telamonios occurs on vases, the patronymic is omitted, but it is a common feature of this class of vases to add surnames, *e.g.* Ἑρμῆς Κυλλήνιος; and so we have Νέστωρ Πύλιος below. As regards the form, Ἰλείθυα (on B 147 and E 410 in Brit. Mus. and *Mon. dell' Inst.* vi.–vii. 56) and Ἐλείθυα on the Berlin vase No. 1704, which belongs to our group, are not really analogous, as there the vowels ΙΕ represent a diphthong. The form Ἰλιάδης does not appear to be quite unknown in literature. In *Il.* xiii. 203 the scholiast Zenodotos reads it for the vulg. Ὀϊλιάδης, which form also occurs in Quint. Smyrn. vi. 556 and elsewhere.[1]

To resume our description of the scene, three figures still remain for discussion. Phœnix moves away on the extreme right, with clenched right hand and spear in the other; his name is written ΦΟΙΝΙΞ. Beyond him is a folding stool. On the left stand Diomede (ΔΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ) and Nestor (ΝΕΣΤΟΡ ΓΥΛΙΟΣ), the former holding two spears and shield. Nestor is not represented as of any great age, but has black hair and beard. He wears the long white linen chiton of the charioteer, and holds a spear; his figure exactly balances that of Phœnix.

The death of Polyxena is not a common subject in Greek art. It occurs in several 'Iliupersis' scenes, but in those cases we have merely the figures of Neoptolemos and Polyxena, and sometimes there is nothing to identify them, or the type is approximated to that of Ajax seizing Cassandra, as on the Brit. Mus. vase F 278. Pausanias alludes to it among the paintings in the Pinakotheke of the Propylaea (i. 22, 6): *τοῦ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τάφου πλησίον μέλλουσά ἐστι σφάζεσθαι Πολυξένη.*[2] He tells us (x. 25, 10) that he had seen another painting of the subject at Pergamos on the Kaïkos. Overbeck[3] gives a list of vases, gems, and Etruscan urns, on which the subject is to be found[4] to these may be added:

(1) 'Peloponnesian' vase, *Jahrbuch d. Arch. Inst.* viii. (1893), Pl. I.

(2) Robert, *Homerische Becher*, p. 73, with figures of N. and P., Odysseus, Agamemnon, and three unnamed heroes; subject taken direct from Eur. *Hec.* 558 ff.

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[1] See Hesychius; Pind. *Ol.* ix. 167 and Schol.; and Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen*[3] under each form respectively.

[2] Overbeck (*Arch. Misc.* 1887, p. 10) has suggested the possible identity of this painting with one by Polygnotos (or, according to another reading, Polykleitos) described in an epigram (*Anth. Plan.* iv. 150).

[3] *Her. Bildwerke*, p. 661 ff.

[4] It may be noted that the most important of the examples given by Overbeck, the well-known Towneley cista in the Brit. Mus. (Cat. 743) can only be regarded as a doubtful one. There is no certain indication that the figure of the victim is feminine, and the proportions would suit equally well for a boy, while the whole design is somewhat indistinct. On the other hand, the connection of the scene with the death of Neoptolemos on the other side of the cista is an argument in favour of the received interpretation.

As part of an Iliupersis scene the subject occurs on the following examples:

(3) Brit. Mus.: F 160.

(4) Naples: 2422 (the Vivenzio vase).

(5) Louvre: Kylix by Brygos (Heydemann, *Iliupersis*, Pl. I.).

It will be interesting to compare with our vase No. (1) in the above list, an amphora in the Bourguignon collection at Naples, published by Hauser (*loc. cit.*)

The *types* are startlingly different. The painter of the Bourguignon amphora appears to have adopted another 'Iliupersis' type, that of Priam's death on the altar of Zeus, for the figure of Polyxena.[1] The moment represented is not quite the same; Neoptolemos has already accomplished the deed, and is hastily mounting his chariot (this again is a borrowed motive, from the Amphiaraos vase in Berlin). None of the figures are inscribed; Polyxena has fallen, not on an altar, but on a tumulus which represents the burial-place of Achilles.

The subject on the reverse of our amphora will not compare with the obverse in interest, but yet calls for some attention. It represents a revel of four men dancing in somewhat grotesque attitudes, flanked on either side by a cock. This is a common type on Corinthian vases and on more than one class of imitations of Corinthian wares, where they supply the place of the Satyrs on Ionic and Athenian fabrics. A list of instances is collected by Körte in *Jahrbuch d. Arch. Inst.* viii. (1893), p. 90, note 58; to which we may add:

(1) Berlin Cat. 1662 (Corinthian).

(2) Brit. Mus. B 42[2] (subject: return of Hephaistos).

(3) Brit. Mus. B 44 (imitation Corinthian).

(4) Furtwaengler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, i. Pl. 48.

(5) Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, Pl. 7.

(6) Amphora at the Hague (*Jahrbuch*, v. (1890), p. 244), of 'Peloponnesian' fabric.

(7) Vase in Athens, published by Loeschcke, *Athen. Mittheil*, xix. (1894), Pl. 8, p. 519 ff. (subject: return of Hephaistos).

The meaning of these figures has been subject to some discussion. Furtwaengler, von Rohden, and formerly Loeschcke,[3] have regarded them as

[1] Hauser *ad loc.* p. 99.

[2] In reference to this vase, which Loeschcke (*Ath. Mitth.* 1894, p. 516) claims to be 'echt Korinthisch,' and which in the catalogue I have included among 'Imitations of Corinthian fabrics,' it may perhaps be worth while to mention that my view accords with that of the late F. Duemmler, who pronounced the vase to be Sicyonian, and classed it, on stylistic grounds, with the Berlin vase No. 1147 which bears a Sicyonian inscription.

[3] *Ann. dell. Inst.* 1877, p. 450 and 1878, p. 301; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, iii. p. 1962.

terrestrial votaries of Dionysos. Duemmler[1] first raised the question whether they should not be regarded as *δαίμονες* of some kind, a question which now seems to be solved by their appearance on Nos. (2) and (7) accompanying Hephaistos and Dionysos. Loeschcke, in publishing the latter vase, has definitely pronounced for this view. He points out that their correct title is *Σάτυροι*, and that they represent the Satyrs as they appeared in the oldest Satyric dramas of the Peloponnese.

The attitude in which these *Σάτυροι* are usually depicted, with one leg raised and pointing outwards, appears to illustrate the word *ῥικνοῦσθαι*,[2] interpreted by Pollux (iv. 99) as *τὸ τὴν ὀσφὺν φορτικῶς περιάγειν*, and by Sophocles (apud Phot.), *τὸ καμπύλον γίγνεσθαι ἀσχημόνως, καὶ κατὰ συνουσίαν καὶ (κατ') ὄρχησιν, κάμπτοντα τὴν ὀσφύν.*

The remaining decoration of the vase, as already indicated, consists of two friezes of animals arranged in heraldic fashion: (1) on the upper row, a pair of Sirens confronted, with a pattern of two lotus-flowers and two palmettes between; two groups of a panther and a ram divided by a swan; (2) on the lower row, two groups of a ram between panthers.

III.

Kantharos, $10\frac{7}{8}$ in. in height, $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. in diameter, with sharply-pointed handles bent round to form an inverted semi-circle with the lower edge of the body (Fig. 3). The vase is said to have been found at Athens, near the Pnyx, and was originally found in fragments; these were put together, not without a considerable amount of restoration, which has now been removed. The lavish use of purple and white for details gives a pleasing appearance to the vase, while its shape is not ungraceful. The white pigment has faded to a considerable extent, and turned to a bluish colour on the black varnish. The ornaments consist of a tongue-pattern round the rim, and a row of small black dots along the bottom of the design, and round the upper part of the stem is a chequer pattern in squares. Underneath the cup, above the stem, is an interlacing lotos-and-honeysuckle pattern, resembling that on the neck of the Polyxena vase just described, a small detail which indicates that the vase, although by an Athenian painter, is by one who has not yet freed himself from Corinthian influences. We shall see that the choice of subjects and their treatment also recall us to Corinthian archetypes. The handles, and all the foot, except the lower edge, are covered with black glaze.

The kantharos is not a common shape before the fifth century B.C. Its form being essentially suited to metal, it was never popular in pottery at any time, in spite of the fact that it is one of the most beautiful shapes conceivable; but black-figured examples may be counted on the fingers. One other exists in the British Museum (B 370), and three in Berlin (1737, 4012, 4013); of the latter, No. 1737 is early Attic work (with inscriptions), and

[1] *Ann. dell. Inst.* 1855, p. 129 (and see pl. D). [2] Soph. *Frag.* 297; Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 8.

is grouped by Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 73, with B 147 in Brit. Mus., and other vases of the school of Klitias and Ergotimos. On the other hand, the frequent occurrence of the kantharos as an attribute of Dionysos or as a device on shields[1] implies that the form was quite familiar at this period.

On either side of the cup is a subject, the meaning of which is clear enough, but there is room for doubt as to whether or no it is of mythological import. The one side represents the departure of a warrior in his chariot, the other, a combat over a fallen warrior. One is tempted to see a connection between these two scenes, and if they are mythological, we must look for some known type to which they correspond. Now, as regards the first, the well-known Corinthian krater in Berlin (No. 1655), with the departure of Amphiaraos, gives a well-defined type; as regards the second, in order to

Fig. 3.—Athenian Kantharos.

arrive at a connection with the other side, we are at once reminded of the combat over the body of Polyneikes. Thus the two sides of the vase may represent two episodes from the story of the Seven against Thebes. This interpretation must, of course, be received with caution; its correctness cannot be proved, but it is at least a permissible suggestion.[2]

[1] On vases in Brit. Mus. as shield-device: B 267; in Berlin: 1790, 1865; as attribute of Dionysos: B 149, 153, 178, 179, 180, 195, 198, &c. in Brit. Mus.

[2] See for these two representations in ancient art, Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.* pp. 91–135. He gives several inscribed vases with the departure of Amphiaraos, and other conjectural instances, in regard to which he points out that if they have any mythological meaning it is probably this. But he denies the existence of any representation of the 'Brüderkampf' earlier than the Etruscan sepulchral urns. He omits, however, the inscribed mirror in the Brit. Mus. (*Cat.* No. 621) which is not later than the 3rd cent. B.C. and probably earlier.

We proceed to describe the two scenes more in detail.

(1) The departure of Amphiaraos (Plate XVI.). The main portion of the scene is occupied by a four-horse chariot standing to the right. The charioteer (Baton) is of the usual type, clad in a long chiton of crinkled white linen, and holding a goad in one hand and reins in the other. His hair and beard are painted purple. The hero, or Amphiaraos if he may be so termed, mounts the chariot from the further side. Of his attire all that is visible is a short chiton, with ornamental border. On the near side stand three figures, a woman and two warriors. The first of these holds up a helmet in his hand for Amphiaraos to put on, the other holds up a bow, and carries a shield, with device of a snake; but there is no authority from which we may derive names for them. Their position on the near side of the chariot is an unusual one; in scenes of this kind the 'Nebenfiguren' generally stand in a line on the further side of the chariot, as in such instances as Gerhard's *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pls. 136–140, 249, 252. The horses all have top-knots; at their head stands a bald, bearded old man, wearing a chiton and himation, both embroidered, but the patterns are faded away. Behind him is a woman drawing forward her himation like a veil over her head; this attitude is familiar as indicating a bride in the presence of her husband; it is possible that she may be intended for Eriphyle, but there is no necklace to characterise her, as on the Berlin vase. The scene is closed by a bearded man wearing a chiton and himation, whose figure has almost entirely disappeared, and had been much restored.

On the left side of the scene are three figures balancing the three on the right: a woman wearing an elaborately decorated chiton and a purple and white wreath; a warrior fully armed, whose shield bears a star of seven points as device; and a bearded man who appears to be in conversation with the warrior.

On the whole there is so little characterisation of the figures, and so little to differentiate this from other compositions of the kind that I am inclined to regard it as merely a 'departure of a warrior' scene, in spite of the possibility of a connection with that on the reverse.

The reverse (Plate XVII. Fig. 1) is in worse condition than the obverse; it represents, as has been said, a combat over two fallen warriors, which, like the other scene, is a very familiar type on black-figured vases. There is nothing to indicate that either of the warriors is slain; they merely appear to be temporarily rendered *hors de combat*. One leans on his right elbow; the other is fallen on his knees. The latter carries a Boeotian shield; of his person the legs alone now remain. Over them stand a pair of warriors fighting, with spears, of whom the right-hand one is now lost, and on the right were no doubt two other pairs of combatants, but this part had been entirely restored. On the left is another pair fighting with spears, but the left-hand warrior runs away while he turns back to thrust at his pursuer; his shield-device is a tripod. If the interpretation suggested above is to be accepted, the central figure would of course be Eteokles, and the fallen one Polyneikes.

Throughout this scene the work has been very careful, with minutely-incised lines and a lavish use of purple and white pigments; all the armour is treated in elaborate detail; but the effect has been much marred by the restorations.

The exact position of this vase and its relation to the masters of Athenian black-figure vase-painting is not easy to determine. We have seen here and there a suggestion of Corinthian sources, but the general tone and style is Athenian. Though free from the mannerisms and affectations of the Klitias and Ergotimos period (represented by the François vase and the Brit. Mus. vase B 147, with the birth of Athena), it yet comes near to this class; while in the crowding of figures and elaboration of detail we see an anticipation of Glaukytes and Nikosthenes. Nevertheless it would be rash to assign this work to any one painter or school; we can only say that it must be dated about the middle of the sixth century B.C.

IV.

Kylix of the 'Kleinmeister' type, from Aegina, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height and $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. The style is that of Glaukytes or Nikosthenes, and in general appearance the vase is very similar to one signed by Glaukytes and Archikles, published in the *Wiener Vorlegeblätter* for 1889, Pl. 2, fig. 2*e*. We may also compare the kylix by the former artist now in the Brit. Mus. (B 400).

The designs are painted on a red band round the cup, which is of the shape characteristic of the period (see *B.M. Cat. of Vases*, ii. Pl. 5, fig. 16). The rest of the vase is covered with black varnish, with the exception of a circle of $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. diam. in the centre of the inside, a red band round the bottom of the bowl, and the foot.

The subject on either side is the same, with little variation: the preparation and departure of warriors for battle. On the obverse (Fig. 4) are four warriors: one mounts his chariot accompanied by a small groom; the next is moving away on foot; the third is putting on his greave (a familiar b.f. vase motive); while on the extreme left is a warrior donning his helmet and accompanied by his dog. This last motive appears to be a new one; it does not occur on any other b.f. vase in the Brit. Mus., or in the Berlin collection. Usually the warrior's helmet lies on the ground, or else it is handed to him by a woman. Interspersed with these figures are twelve draped 'Nebenfiguren,' one of whom is a woman.

The reverse is almost identical, but the warrior putting on his helmet is omitted, and one of the bystanders, making a total of fifteen figures in all, against seventeen on the obverse.

In the field on either side are various collocations of letters representing inscriptions, but all quite meaningless. The cup is much broken, and has been restored in places; the colours are faded, and the work is rather careless.

V.

Fragments of a kyathos, about half remaining (Plate XVII. Fig. 2). Shape as *B.M. Cat. of Vases*, ii. Pl. 7, fig. 1; height 2½ in. These fragments probably come from Italy, but no information has been received. They have a special interest inasmuch as they bear the signature of the potter Nikosthenes, thus adding another to the already long list of his known works. Klein[1] gives two vases of this shape as signed by Nikosthenes, but neither has been published, nor are their present possessors known. Judging from his description the first exactly resembled our present example: 'Kelle mit einem Henkel . . . . Tanz von fünf Silenen und vier Mänaden. Darüber die Inschrift.'

The handle is covered with black varnish; the cup itself is covered with glaze of a rich buff-red colour, and both purple and white pigments are employed. The decoration consists of Satyrs and Maenads dancing in pairs, the latter wearing long girt chitons with white spots. One wears a χιτὼν σχιστός, another kicks up her leg behind.

VI.

Amphora from Aegina, 17¼ in. high, with designs in panels on either side (Figs. 5, 6). This vase appears to be of comparatively late date, as is shown by (1) the shape, which is characteristic of amphorae of the Andokides and Euthymides schools, (2) the almost complete absence of purple and white pigments, (3) the borders of ornamentation surrounding the panels, which are also seen on early r. f. amphorae, and on hydriae of both methods. The handles are quite plain; there is a rather sharply-marked division between neck and shoulder, but it is curvilinear, not angular, as in the red-bodied amphorae. The black varnish is rather worn, but on the whole the vase is in good condition. The ornaments consist of inverted lotos-buds above the panels, rows of dots down the sides of the panels, and rays shooting up from the foot.

Both the subjects on the panels are of considerable interest: the obverse represents Herakles bringing Kerberos out of Hades, the reverse, two heroes playing at draughts in the presence of Athene, both being familiar subjects on b. f. vases. The former was not previously represented on any vase in the Brit. Mus., but the latter occurs fairly often (see *Vase Cat.* ii. p. 27 and also E 10).

On the obverse of our vase Herakles, with club in hand, short chiton, and lion's skin tied over his head, hauls the two-headed Kerberos along with a chain. He moves towards the left, and looks back at his prize, the two necks of which are adorned with purple collars. A richly-curling mane runs

[1] *Meisters.*[2] p. 66, Nos. 54, 55.

Fig. 4.—Arming of Warriors.

down the back of the monster. On its further side is seen Hermes, with face to right, but feet to left. His hair is looped up behind in the κρωβύλος,[1] and he is attired in the usual style, with petasos, chlamys, and high boots with large tags in front. The petasos is painted white with a purple brim. The locality is here indicated by a Doric column with white capital, which is artistic short-hand for the palace of Hades, and within the palace is Persephone, holding a sceptre capped with a pomegranate; she stands away from the scene, but looks back at Kerberos. She wears a chiton and himation.

On the reverse is a plain block of stone[2] in the centre, *before* which stands a statue of Athena with face to left, the left hand up-raised, and a

Fig. 5.—Amphora: Heroes Playing at Draughts.

spear couched in the right. This position of the goddess is new to the type; she is usually placed on the farther side of the block. The two heroes are draped, not armed, but each has two spears in the left hand, and the one on the right has a sword. Behind each is a shield, the one on the left being inscribed OXO, while the other has a tripod as device; and above each shield is a helmet. The space above is filled in with branches. The warrior on the right holds an object between his fingers, presumably a πεσσός; the same

[1] Studniczka in *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* (1896), p. 248 ff.

[2] I have refrained from styling this object an 'altar,' as it has been hitherto called, since it has been pointed out by Blinkenberg (*Ath. Mittheil.* xxiii. (1898), p. 9), that it really represents the table on which a board was marked out for playing the game of ἐπὶ πέντε γραμμῶν.

Fig. 6.—Herakles bringing Kerberos out of Hades.

action occurs on B 193 in Brit. Mus., but no pessi are here visible on the table between them as is usually the case.[1]

The subject of Herakles and Kerberos occurs on no fewer than 36 black-figured vases, as against 6 red-figured, and 7 of later date. Several lists of them have been made, the first by Gerhard in his *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, ii. p. 157: he gives there 13 examples; supplemented by Conze in *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1859, p. 398, who adds 11 more. Dr. F. J. Schneider in his *Zwölf Kämpfe des Herakles*, p. 45, gives a more complete but somewhat inaccurate list, which has been partly corrected by Hartwig in *Jahrbuch* vii. (1893), p. 158. As Hartwig does not give a revised list in full, I have thought it advisable to do so here, pointing out where possible the variations in the type. Several of the vases in Gerhard's list are only vaguely and superficially described, and even now it is possible that there may be one or more duplicates; but as far as possible every item has been identified.

NO.	SHAPE.	PROVENIENCE.	COLLECTION.	CATALOGUE.	PUBLICATIONS.	GERHARD + CONZE.	SCHNEIDER.
			I. BLACK-FIGURED VASES.				
			A. With Eurystheus in pithos; no palace of Hades; K. has three heads.				
1	Caeretan Hydria	Cervetri	Louvre	679	*Mon. dell' Inst.* vi. 36	—	I. 23
2	Caeretan Hydria	Cervetri	Castellani	—	*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1869, p. 249	—	24
			B. No palace of Hades or Eurystheus; K. has two heads.				
3	Amphora	—	Munich	153	Inghirami, *Vasi Fitt.* ii. 135–136	l	I. 1
4	Amphora	—	Munich	1206	—	r	2
5	Amphora	—	Berlin	1828	—	e	5
6	Amphora	Vulci	Berlin	1880	—	f	20
7	Amphora	Rhodes	Louvre	482	—	—	—
8	Amphora	(Campana Coll.)	St. Petersburg	122	—	t	19
9	Amphora	—	Würzburg	250	Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 97, 3	d	8
10	Amphora	Corneto	Corneto	—	*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1878, p. 178	—	14
11	Amphora	—	Durand	309	Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 129	v	13
12	Amphora	Cervetri	Castellani	—	*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1865, p. 145	—	7
13	Amphora	—	Depoletti	—	—	g	9
14	Amphora	—	Candelori	—	—	i	10
15	Amphora	Orvieto	—	—	*Ann. dell' Inst.* 1877, p. 125	—	—
16	Amphora	Chiusi	—	—	Inghirami, *Vasi Fitt.* i. 40	c	16
17	Amphora	—	—	—	Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 130	w	15
18	Amphora	—	—	—	[K. has three heads]	k	11
19	Hydria	—	Basseggio	—	*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1847, p. 28	q	17

[1] Another interesting variant of the 'Brettspiel' type is given by a Cypriote-Attic oinochoe from Poli in the Museum at Nicosia (Myres, *Cyprus Mus. Cat.* p. 84, No. 1603); behind each player is an attendant warrior.

NO.	SHAPE.	PROVENIENCE.	COLLECTION.	CATALOGUE.	PUBLICATIONS.	GERHARD + CONZE.	SCHNEIDER.
20	Hydria	—	Campanari	—	—	b	18
21	Kylix (Xenokles)	—	Durand	65	R. Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.* pl. 49	n	12
22	Kylix	Toscanella	—	—	*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1839, p. 74	o	22
23	Lekythos	Cervetri	Castellani	—	*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1869, p. 250	—	6
24	Lekythos	—	Athens	271 (Collignon)	—	—	4
25	Pyxis	—	Athens	209 (Collignon)	—	—	3
			C. With palace of Hades represented.				
26	Amphora	Aegina	Brit. Mus.	—	*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 295		
27	Amphora	Corneto	Moscow	—	*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1859, p. 131	p	II. D
28	Amphora	—	Naples	SA 267	*Jahrbuch d. Arch. Inst.* viii. (1893), p. 157	—	B
29	Amphora	—	Rome	—	*Museo Gregoriano*, ii. pl. 52, 2*a*	—	H
30	Amphora	—	—	—	*Campana Cat.* iv. 507	u	A
31	Pelike	Magna Graecia	Durand	310	[K. has two dogs' and one snake's head]	m	C
32	Hydria	—	Naples	3378	—	—	E
33	Hydria	—	Würzburg	135	Gerhard, *A.V.* i. 40	a	J
34	Hydria	Vulci	—	—	*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1840, p. 124	s	F
35	Hydria	—	—	—	Gerhard, *A.V.* ii. 131	x	G
36	Skyphos (Corinthian)	Argos	—	—	*Arch. Zeit.* 1859, pl. 125 [K. has one head.]	—	K
			II. RED-FIGURED VASES.				
			A. Without Eurystheus or palace of Hades.				
37	Amphora	Canino	Munich	406	—	z	25 & M
38	Kylix	—	Würzburg	359	*Jahrbuch*, 1893, p. 162	—	26 & 27
39	Kylix	—	Berlin	—	*Jahrbuch*, 1893, pl. 2, p. 165	—	—
40	Pinax	Chiusi ?	Naples (Bourguignon)	—	*Jahrbuch*, 1893, p. 160	—	—
			B. With palace of Hades.				
41	Amphora (Andokides)	—	Louvre	—	Durand Coll. 311	y	L
42	Kylix	Vulci	Altenburg	—	*Jahrbuch*, 1893, p. 163 [K. has one head]	—	21 & N
			III. APULIAN VASES (Representations of Underworld).				
			[K. has three heads.]				
43	Krater	Apulia	Brit. Mus.	F 270	*Wiener Vorl.* E. 6, 1		
44	Volute-krater	Altamura	Naples	3222	,, ,, E. 2		
45	Volute-krater	Armento	Naples	SA 11	,, ,, E. 6, 5		
46	Volute-krater	Armento	Naples	SA 709	,, ,, E. 3, 2		
47	Volute-krater	Canosa	Munich	849	,, ,, E. 1		
48	Volute-krater	Ruvo	Karlsruhe	388	,, ,, E. 3, 1		
			IV. VASE WITH RELIEFS.				
49	Kelebe	Tenea (?)	Berlin	2882	*Coll. Sabouroff*, i. 74		

VII.

Lekythos from Greece, 6¼ in. high, with black figures on white slip ground (Fig. 7). The style is late and careless; there appear to have been purple accessories, but they are faded away. The shoulder of the vase is left in red, and palmettes are painted on it in black; round the top of the design runs a band of maeander. The black varnish is very poor in quality; the handle has been repaired.

The subject represented is one usually associated with the earlier b.f. period: the combat of Herakles and Geryon. Our example presents several features in which there is a marked deviation from the ordinary type, as will be seen from the description. Herakles kneels on his left knee to the left and discharges an arrow from his bow at the monster, which is separated from him by a rock, on which grows a tree. On this rock Herakles has laid his lion's skin or some piece of drapery. The figure of Geryon is represented in the traditional manner (*τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἀλλήλοις προσεχόμενοι*). One body (apparently the middle one) has fallen forward wounded; he still clings to his spear, but his helmet has fallen off. The other two are armed with spears, and wear helmets and cuirasses. Behind Geryon are the figures of the herdsman Eurytion and his dog Orthros, the latter seated on the ground, the former stooping forward. Eurytion wears a *pileus* or conical leather cap, and carries a chlamys over his left arm. He is armed with a spear and sword. Under the handle appears the figure of Athena with hands raised, one of them holding a spear, round which twines her serpent.

The types of Herakles and Geryon have been collected by Klein, *Euphronios* (2nd edn.), p. 59, and those on Brit. Mus. vases in the *Catalogue*, ii. p. 17; nor do there appear to be any additions to make to the list. The one that approximates most nearly to our example appears to be the r.f. kylix illustrated by Klein on p. 81, but only in our vase is Herakles turned towards the left.[1] Again, nowhere else but on our vase does Herakles kneel even when using the bow (which is also seen on Munich 407 and Brit. Mus. B 442); the attitude in this case seems to be borrowed from the east pediment of the Aegina temple, where Herakles appears as a kneeling archer.

Another new feature is the position of Eurytion and the dog, who are usually represented as lying wounded or dead; and finally we note the rock, which often indeed forms the centre of a scene on b.f. vases (cf. the Brit. Mus. Troilos hydria B 324) but never otherwise occurs in a Geryon-scene; in fact Herakles is generally too close to Geryon to use any weapon but a club or sword. It may be that the painter put in a rock here to give the idea of distance.

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[1] Also in Noel des Vergers, *Étrurie*,[2] pl. 38.

Fig. 7.—Lekythos: Herakles and Geryon.

VIII.

Panathenaic amphoriskos, $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. high, with black figures on red ground and white details (Fig. 8). This little vase can hardly be regarded as belonging to the class of Panathenaic amphorae, although it has all their characteristics in miniature. It was presumably a child's plaything, as many vase-paintings seem to indicate that toy vases were popular in the Greek nurseries.[1]

Fig. 8.—Panathenaic Amphoriskos.

Small as it is, it is by no means devoid of interest. In date it must be quite late, perhaps of the 4th cent. B.C., to judge by the free and careless execution. The figure of Athena is of the usual type, but on the reverse is what appears to be an entirely new subject for a Panathenaic amphora, viz. a runner in the torch-race (*λαμπαδηδρομία*). This subject is common on late r.f. and Graeco-Italian vases of the fifth-fourth century (*e.g.* F 59 and E 389 in Brit. Mus., and Tischbein, *Hamilton Vases*, ii. Pl. 58). The runner

[1] F 101, E 527, E 534, E 535, &c. in Brit. Mus.; also Jahn in *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch.* 1854, p. 243 ff.

wears a large wreath with several upright crests over the forehead, painted in white.

An almost identical vase has lately been acquired by the Cassel Museum.[1] Instead of the torch-runner, an athlete of Polycleitan type is depicted on the reverse.

H. B. WALTERS.

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[1] *Jahrbuch*, xiii. (1898), *Anzeiger* p. 192, fig. 11.

A DEDICATION TO ARTEMIS

THE coin of Sicyon, of the obverse of which a drawing by Mr. F. Anderson (made over a photograph) is given here, has been twice published both times by Professor Percy Gardner.[1]

STATER OF SICYON (British Museum).
Enlarged 2 diameters.

It is a stater of the fourth century B.C., of the usual types:

Obverse: ϡE Chimaera to r.

Reverse: Dove flying r.; behind it, over the tail, a small bow. The whole in an olive-wreath. Concave field. Slightly double-struck on both sides.

Weight 188 grains (12·182 grammes).

The inscription on the obverse, which lends special interest to this piece, is unique among adscititious inscriptions upon Greek coins,[2] not only in its elaborate character, but in the manner of its execution. Such inscriptions are in other cases graffiti, scratched with a point; this is pricked into the metal with a pointed instrument.

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[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1873, p. 183 (Pl. VII. Fig. 5, from a drawing by F. Lees); Brit. Mus. Catal. *Peloponnesus*, p. 41, no. 65, (Pl. VII. 26, autotype).

[2] They have been collected by F. Lenormant, *Revue Numism.* 1874–77, pp. 325 f. To his list add the coins of Pheneus, *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 83, and Corinth, *Rev. Num.* 1898, p. xliii. and B. M. Catal. *Corinth*, nos. 8, 131, 226.

Professor Gardner, in publishing the inscription, reads it

ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΕΛΚΕΤΑΣ ΑΜΟΝ.

He adds that the Τ of the third word may be a Γ, the Α of the fourth word is indistinct, and that 'at the end of that word is a mark which might stand for Ι, although I believe it merely to indicate the end of the inscription, there being a similar mark at the end of the first word.' These difficulties are, however, small in comparison with that connected with the meaning of ἐλκέτας (or rather ἐλκετᾶς, if it is an adjective formed from the verb ἕλκειν). None of the explanations connecting the word with ἕλκειν seems to me entirely satisfactory.[1]

Under these circumstances a further examination of the inscription seemed worth the making. My results are as follows.

In the first place, as will be seen from the drawing, the initial letter of the inscription is most probably that which stands under the chimaera's tail, behind the left hind leg. I make no doubt that the letter is Τ and not Γ, which could hardly be represented with the same number of points in both strokes, even in a carelessly punctured inscription (which this is not). But if it is Τ, its position in regard to the other letters can only be explained by its being the first letter of the inscription. In beginning the dedication, it was natural to hold the coin so that the type stood the right way up. But the writer found out his mistake when he came to make the second letter. If on the other hand this Τ is not the first letter in the inscription, its position is much less explicable.

The inscription offers no further difficulty until we come to the first letter of the second (outer) circle. This is read by Mr. Gardner as Α. All that is visible is Δ. It might be supposed that the lower parts of the two legs of Α were omitted owing to want of room. But this supposition is excluded by the fact that in other cases of confined space the punctures are carried over the edge of the coin, as may be plainly seen in the letters ΚΕ behind the tail of the chimaera. Hence there seems little doubt that the letter in question is Δ and not Α.

After the letter Ν comes the last sign in the inscription; Mr. Gardner conjectures this to be a stop of the same kind as occurs at the close of the word ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΟΣ. But while the latter stop is made with two strokes of the instrument, effecting marks much larger than any others in the inscription, the sign at the end is made in exactly the same way as the letters. It is safe, therefore, to suppose it to be Ι and not a stop.

Thus read, the inscription becomes

ΤΑΣΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΟΣΤΑΣΕΛΚΕ
ΔΜΟΝΙ

which I interpret *τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος τᾶς ἐ(λ) Λ(α)κεδ(αί)μονι.*

[1] 'Drawer of the bow,' 'deliverer from trouble,' 'helper in childbirth.' It is also questionable whether *ἑλκετός* is a possible formation; and the termination *-τος* would at any rate have a passive force.

The omission of the second letter of the preposition is of course quite in order.[1] But the omission of the vowels in the word Λακεδαίμονι certainly gives pause. The first A could, however, easily escape, owing to the Λ immediately preceding it; the AI must have been sacrificed for reasons of space. It was more necessary to preserve the dative termination than the vowels in the middle of the word.[2]

Abbreviation by syncope is excessively rare in Greek before Byzantine times.[3] As M. Perdrizet has shown,[4] βαλέος on the now famous tile of King Nabis is not an abbreviation, but an imperfect rendering of the rapid pronunciation of the Doric form βαλιλέος as βαλλέος. But the form βαυς which occurs on tetradrachms of Smyrna[5] at the beginning of the second century B.C. is an undoubted instance of syncopated abbreviation. The form βασσης has been quoted from a papyrus of the time of Euergetes II.,[6] but it is so carelessly written that it can hardly count as evidence.[7]

On Greek coins of the Imperial period, especially at the beginning of third century, it is common to find the word AYTOKPATΩP abbreviated AYTKP or AYTKPA.[8] This form occurs so often that it can hardly be due to a mere blunder. In the CB which is sometimes found instead of CEB(αστός), the loss of the E may perhaps be explained by its likeness to C. Forms such as ΛOYKIC for Λούκιος, on the other hand, are probably neither abbreviations nor blunders, but, like HMIOBEΛIN, anticipations of the later Greek terminations -ις, -ιν.[9] After the βαυς of the coins of Smyrna, the earliest instance of syncopated abbreviation known to me in official inscriptions is the monogrammatic form of $\overline{\text{KAP}}$ for Καῖσαρ which Imhoof-Blumer has described from coins of Chalcedon and Byzantium struck at the beginning of the Empire.[10] But many methods might have been allowed in monograms which were unusual in ordinary writing.

These notes are sufficient to show that the syncopated method of abbreviation existed, though sporadically, at an earlier period than is generally supposed.

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[1] Cp. τοῖ(λ) Λακεδαιμονίο[ις] (undoubtedly the right restoration) *Olympia Inschr.* 252. In other cases the double λ is written: ἐλ Λακεδαίμονα, *Olympia*, no. 171; ἐλ Λακεδαίμονι, Meister, *Gr. Dial.-Inschriften*, 4430. But its omission is in accordance with the rule which gives us κατόν, ποτόν for κὰτ τόν, πὸτ τόν, and other single writings of double letters.

[2] In APTAMTS, which occurs in an inscription on a metal vessel (Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* 1600; Purgold, *Arch. Zeitung* xl. (1882) p. 393), the first S is probably omitted by a mere accident. The epithet preceding should perhaps be completed [AIC]-EPATS; for the worship of Artemis at Aigeira see Paus. vii. 26. 2 f.

[3] No instances are given by J. Simon, *Abkürzungen auf gr. Inschr.* in the *Zeitschr. f. d. österreich. Gymnasien*, 1891, p. 673 ff. For a form like KN for Κυνόσουρα (p. 709), even if the restoration were certain, would hardly count.

[4] *Numism. Chron.* 1898, p. 5.

[5] *E.g.* Mionnet, iii. p. 190, no. 917; *Supp.* vi. p. 302, no. 1391.

[6] Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment* etc., no. 24.

[7] Mr. Kenyon points out that there is room for more than σσ, and that the word appears to be βασιλίσσης very cursively written.

[8] *E.g.* at Perinthus, Berlin *Beschr. d. ant. Münzen*, i. p. 214, nos. 41, 43.

[9] *J.H.S.* 1897, p. 82; Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 301, 302.

[10] *Journal International d'Arch. Numism.* i. (1898), pp. 15 f.

It remains only to admit that it is impossible to ascertain to which of the many goddesses named Artemis in Lacedaemon this coin of Sicyon was dedicated. If, however, the dedication was pricked on the coin before the worshipper came to Lacedaemon, the want of closer definition does not seem unnatural.[1]

Since the above remarks were put into type, the inscription with which they are concerned has been interpreted in yet another way by Professor O. Rossbach.[2] In most of the preliminaries to an explanation we are agreed; as, for instance, in the identification of the initial letter, and in the interpretation of the final word as a dative. The 17th letter, however, he takes to be γ, and his transliteration is accordingly

Τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος τᾶς ἐγ Κεδμῶνι.

This interpretation has the one great advantage of dispensing with the abbreviation which I have assumed. On the other hand, two considerations lead me to adhere to the interpretation I have proposed. In the first place, as Prof. Rossbach himself admits, the place-name Κεδμών is entirely unknown. The invention of this name is not entirely justified by any philological probability it may possess, or by the addition it makes to our list of sanctuaries of Artemis. Secondly, the form Λ for γ, although by no means impossible in Peloponnesian alphabets, is much less common than Γ. The probabilities are therefore in favour of the value which has hitherto been given to the sign in this inscription.

G. F. Hill.

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[1] At the shrine of Zeus Kasios in Corcyra a *stamp* with the name of the god, Διὸς (monogrammatically written) Κασίο, was impressed on dedicated coins (Brit. Mus. Catal. *Thessaly to Aetolia*, p. 158, nos. 615–632, including coins of Lacedaemon and Cnidus, as well as of Corcyra itself). It would seem that the stamp in this case was provided by the temple authorities.

[2] *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 20 Aug. 1898, p. 1053.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM EASTERN ASIA MINOR.

The following inscriptions are some of the epigraphical results of three journeys in Eastern Asia Minor. The first two of these, in which Prof. W. M. Ramsay, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, the Rev. A. C. Headlam, and Mr. J. A. R. Munro took part, were made in the summers of 1890 and 1891, the third, which was organised by Mr. Hogarth and in which I took part myself, was made in the summer of 1894. The geographical results of these expeditions have been published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society in the form of a paper by Messrs. Hogarth and Munro, entitled 'Modern and Ancient Roads in Eastern Asia Minor' (*R.G.S. Suppl. Papers*, iii. pp. 643–739) and a paper by myself 'A Journey in the valley of the Upper Euphrates' (*Geographical Journal*, viii. pp. 318–335 and 453–474).

The inscriptions are arranged under the places where they were found without reference to their probable dates or the language in which they are written. It would have been possible to classify them either in respect of age or of subject, but they do not fall readily into any such divisions. Comparatively few of the inscriptions are without interest, but special attention may be drawn to Nos. 1, 2 which are interesting as belonging to the historical Cilician Gates, to No. 14 (copied curiously enough in London) from Samosata which adds another to the remarkable series of inscriptions on the monuments of the Nemrud Dagh and neighbourhood, and to the legionary tiles from Sadagh which establish the identification of this place with Satala, for which epigraphical evidence has hitherto been wanting. No. 45 a fine inscription of Justinian and No. 34 which gives a fixed point on the frontier road along the Euphrates north of Melitene are also worthy of note.

I am indebted to Prof. Ramsay, Mr. Hogarth and Mr. J. G. C. Anderson for many suggestions which are not always acknowledged in the text.

In every case the initials of the copyist and the year in which the copy was made are given above the inscription.

Cilicia.

No. 1. D.G.H. 1894. *Cilician Gates.*

IMPC — — — — — — — — V	Imp. C[aesar Marcus A]u-
RELIVS — — — — — — VS	relius [Probus? Pi]us
FELIXINVIC — — AVG.	Felix Invic[tus] Aug[u]
STVS . O — — — — — — —	stus [P]o[ntifex Maximus]
VIAMIN — — — — — — —	viam [latiore tramite fecit?]
OBOII — — — — — — — —	Ὀ(ρ)οι Κ[ιλικων]
— —S — — — — — — —	. . . .

The inscription, which is cut on a panel in the rock at the narrowest part of the Gates, is the same as Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1520 and *C.I.L.* iii. 228 where Mommsen restores *vi]am latiore* [*tramite* from AMIATIORE). It was copied by Mr. Hogarth with the aid of an improvised ladder made of two fir poles and pieces of cord. With an ordinary ladder it would doubtless be possible to decipher the whole of the inscription, which is fairly well preserved.

No. 2. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*

I . . . . . I . ΛM	(vi)am
EI . . . . . OPILIS	e[t pontes] (a) P(y)lis
VSC . . . ILXΛV . . SM	usq[ue ad A]l(exan)[dri](a)m
EXIN . . CR . CAES⌐ . IVI.	ex in[te]gr[o] (r)est[i]tui[t].

On a pillar cut out but not detached from the living rock on the modern road about 100 yards below (on the south side of) the Gates. It is the same inscription as that given in Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1519 and *C.I.L.* iii. 227. I owe the interpretation of this and the foregoing inscription to Prof. Ramsay, who read, at the end of the first, ΟΡΟΙ . . ΛΙΚΩΝ, and the second, from *viam* onwards, in full as here restored. The new inscription enables us to restore the end of Le Bas-Waddington, no. 1495 : usque A[lexan]-dria[m e]x in[teg]ro [rest]i[tuit].

No. 3. D.GH., V.W.Y. 1894. *Missis* (*Mopsuestia*).

ΜΟΥCΕΟCΕΜΠΑCΙΠΡΟΛΗ////////
ΥΠΟΤΡΥΦΩΝΟCΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΠΙC
ΤΕΥCΑCΑΥΤΩΤΗΝΠΡΑCΙΝΤΩΝΓΕΩ///
///ΙΩΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΚΟCΑΕΤΙΑC
////ΔΕΠΟΤΕΛΟΓΙCΤΕΥCΑCΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΑ
////Ε//ΗΘΕΙCΥΠΟΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΤΑΠΑΝΤΑΚΑ
//ΜΗΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟCΑΓΙΝΠΡΟCΑΥΤΟΝ
ΤΟΠΡΑΓΜΑΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΟCΚΑΙΤΗΕΦΗΜ//
//ΩΤΡΟΦΗΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΒΙΑΤΑΧΥΤΕΡΟΝΤΕΛΕΙ
ΩΝΤΟΝΒΙΟΝΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΑΙΚΑΤΑΤΡΥΦΩ
ΝΟCΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΜΟΥΚΑΙΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝ
ΑΥΤΟΥΤΟΥCΕΝΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΥCΘΕΟΥCΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥCΚΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΟΥCΚΑΙΠΑCΑΝΑ
ΡΑΝΚΑΙΑΥCCΑΝΧΟΛΩΘΗΝΑΙΑΥΤΟΙC
ΕΝΟΛΩΤΩΒΙΩΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΙΕΡΑΜΗ
ΕΞΟΝΑΥΤΩΠΟΙΗCΑΙΚΑΤΑΜΗΔΕΝΑ
ΤΡΟΠΟΝΜΗΔΕΟCΤΟΥΝΜΟΥCΑΛΕΥCΑΙ
ΕΙΤΟΥΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΟΥΙCΤΟΝΑΙΩΝΑΗΤΡΥ
ΦΩΝΑΗΑΛΛΟΝΤΙΝΑΜΗΔΕΞΑΦΑΝΙCΑΙ

X 2

ΤΙΤΩΝΕΝΤΩΜΝΗΜΕΙΩΜΗΔΕΤΟΠΑΡΑΚΕ
ΜΕΝΟΝΜΟΙΕΜΒΟΛΑΔΙΝΟΡΥΞΑΙΤΙΝΑΜΕ
ΝΕΙΝΔΕΕΜΟΙΑΚΕΡΕΟΝΕΦΟΛΟΥΤΟΕCΩΘΕΝ
ΤΩΝCΥΝΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝΛΙΘΩΝΕΚΤΟCΕΙΜΗ
ΕΑΝΜΑΓΝΑΜΟΝΗΘΕΛΗCΗΗCΥ////CΚΗ//ΟC
ΜΟΥΗΝΚΑΙΕΑΝΤΙCΑΔΙΚΗCΗΗΕΜΕΤΙC
ΒΛΑΨΗΑΔΙΚΩCΚΕΧ//ΛΩΜΕΝΟΙΑΥΤΟ////
///ΓΕΝΟΙΝΤΟΟΙ//ΥΤ//ΙΘΕΟΙ

Ι////ΝΟ////Ω

Μουσῆος ἐμ πᾶσι προλη[μφθεὶς] ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, πιστεύσας αὐτῷ τὴν πρᾶσιν τῶν γεω[ργ]ίων πάντων εἰκοσαετίας, [οὐ]δέ ποτε λογιστεύσας αὐτὸν καὶ ἀ[π](α)[τ]ηθεὶς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα κα[ὶ] μὴ δυνάμενος ἄγιν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα, λειπόμενος καὶ τῇ ἐφημ[ερί]ῳ τροφῇ καὶ παρὰ βίᾳ ταχύτερον τελείων τὸν βίον, ἐπικαλοῦμαι κατὰ Τρύφωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐνουρανίους θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρὰν καὶ λύσσαν χολωθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ βίῳ αὐτῶν· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ μὴ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, μηδὲ ὀστοῦν μου σαλεῦσαι ἐ(κ) τοῦ μνημαδίου ἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἢ Τρύφωνα ἢ ἄλλον τινά μηδὲ ἐξαφανίσαι τι τῶν ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ, μηδὲ τὸ παρακείμενόν μοι ἐμβολάδιν ὀρύξαι τινά, μένειν δὲ ἐμοὶ ἀκέρεον ἐφ' ὅλου τὸ ἔσωθεν τῶν συνκειμένων λίθων, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἔαν Μάγνα μόνη θελήσῃ ἡ σύ[ν]σκη[ν]ός μου. ἦν καὶ ἔαν τις ἀδικήσῃ ἢ ἐμέ τις βλάψῃ ἀδίκως κεχ[ο]λωμένοι αὐτο[ῖς] γένοιντο οἱ [α]ὐτ[ο]ὶ θεοί.

On a stone lying close to the road from Adana to Missis, about five minutes before entering Missis. It was copied by V. Langlois and is published in Waddington and Le Bas, No. 1499, but as their copy is far from perfect and the inscription is interesting, I have given our copy in full.

The Greek is now quite straightforward, the only doubt being the interpretation of *ἐμβολάδιν* (line 21). Waddington and Le Bas take this to be for *ἐμβολάδιον* the diminutive of *ἐμβολάς* 'a grafted tree.' Can it, however, be an adverb, expressing violent *τυμβωρυχία*? *Μουσῆος* and *ἀκέρεος* are for *Μουσαῖος* and *ἀκέραιος*.

In line 24, we may restore *σύνσκηνος* = *contubernalis* with certainty.

The letters at the bottom of the inscription are undecipherable; they possibly may have recorded the infliction of penalties for violation of the tomb.

No. 4. D.G.H. 1894. *Ibid.*

. . ΤΟΛ . . . ΟΦΟΝΙΠΠΕΛΟ
ΕΘΕΝΔΙΟΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΙCCΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΝ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟCΑCΚ . . . ΛΛΟΥΓΑΙΩ
ΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΩΛΕΝΙΠΠΟΥΤΩΑΔΕΛΦΩ
ΚΑΙΤΟΙCΓΟΝΕΥCΙΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ

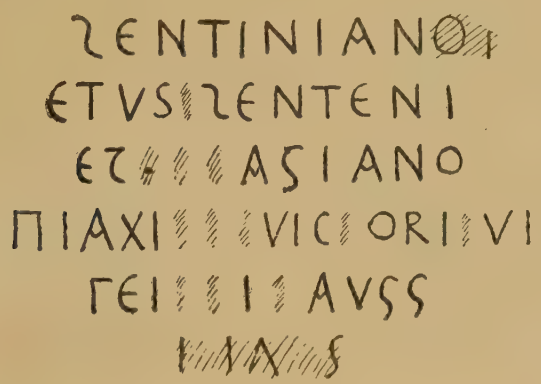
. . . . . .

ἀν]έθεν δῖον πολέμοις στρατιώταν.

Δημήτριος Ἀσκ[ληπι]ά[δ]ου(?) Γαΐῳ Πετρωνίῳ (Μ)ενίππ(ῳ) τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τοῖς γονεῦσι μνήμης χάριν.

The first part of the inscription is evidently metrical. *Μενίππου*, the genitive, seems to be written for *Μενίππῳ*, the dative, as often. Demetrius and Menippus were sons of Asklepiades(?); Menippus became a soldier and at *missio honesta* received the citizenship as usual, and took the name C. Petronius, perhaps after his commander.

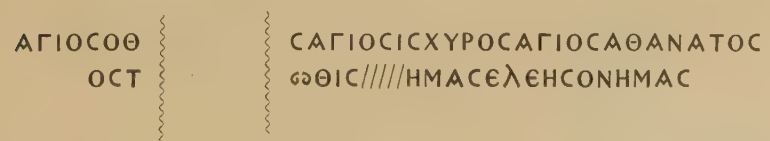
No. 5. D.G.H. 1894. *Ibid.*



[Va]lentiniano et V(a)lenten(o) et [Gr]atiano (m)axi[mis] vic[t]ori[b]u(s) se[mper] Augg . . . .

On a column, much defaced, in a graveyard below the village on the right bank of the *Jihan*. It is evidently a milestone. For the form Valenteno for Valenti cf. *C.I.L.* viii. 10352 where Valentino occurs. A copy of this inscription is given by Heberdey and Wilhelm in their work *Reisen in Kilikien* (*Wiener Denkschriften* vi. p. 13), but as it differs slightly from the above I have thought it advisable to publish our copy.

No. 6. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*



ἅγιος ὁ θ[εό]ς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος,
ὁ στ[αυρ]ωθὶς δι' ἡμᾶς ἐλεῆσον ἡμᾶς.

On two fragments of a long marble block lying in a graveyard on the right bank of the *Jihan* (Pyramus). The second half of the inscription has also been copied by Davis (*Life in Asiatic Turkey*, p. 67); he has ΛΙΗΜΑC in the second line. This form of the *τρισάγιον* was introduced by Peter the Fuller at Antioch (he died 477). It was afterwards adopted by the Syrian Monophysites.

No. 7. V.W.Y. 1894. *Yarsowat.*

ΘΕΩΘΕΩΝ	*θεῷ θεῶν*
ΔΙΙ	*Διὶ*
ΜΕΓΙCΤΩΙ	*μεγίστωι*

No. 8.

ΑΘΗΝΑ	*Ἀθήνα*

No. 9.

Α////////ΗΛΙΑΜΑΤΡΩ	*Α[ὐρ]ηλία Ματρώ-*
ΝΑΖΩCΑΕΑΥΤ	*να ζῶσα ἑαυτ-*
ΗΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΩ	*ῇ καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ*
ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΩ$_{T}$	*Ἡλιοδώρῳ τ-*
ΩΑΝΔΡΙΜΝ	*ῷ ἀνδρὶ μν-*
ΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	*ήμης χάριν*

Nos. 7 and 8 are on cippi in the courtyard of a private house, No. 9 on a sarcophagus lying close to the mosque. Yarsowat is a small town showing no sign of antiquity about 12 miles on the road from Missis to Osmanieh. The inscriptions may denote an ancient site.

No. 10. D.G.H., J.A.R.M. 1891. Sis (Flaviopolis ?).

In the courtyard of the *Serai;* badly cut and defaced, readings very doubtful.

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΩΠΑCΙΡΥΛΙ
ΑΜΕΙΑΙΡΕΙΑ . . . . . .
ΟΥΥΟ////ΑΥΤΟΥΤΗΝΚΑΘΕ
. . . ΡΑΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Perhaps

Ἀντιπάτρῳ Πασι[κ]ρ(άτης) or Πασι[φί]λ[η or -ος]
ἀμ' ἑ[τ]αιρείᾳ(?) [ἔσ](τη)σε τ-
(ῷ) ὑ(ῷ) αὐτοῦ τὴν καθέ-
δ]ραν εὐνοίας χάριν.

In line 3 we have the genitive *τ]οῦ ὑο(ῦ)* as often.
In line 2, the last five letters are apparently ΕΕΓCΤ

No. 11. D.G.H. 1891. *Ibid.*
Cippus in a small cemetery in the town; very faint.

ΕΤΟΥCΕΜC . F . . ΙΙΡΟ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ . ΜΑΡΚΟΥ
////ΚΑΣΤΗΝΓΥΝΕΚΑΑΥΤΟΥ
//////ΜΝΗΜΗC·

Ἔτους εμσ' -[ὁ δεῖνα]
Κλαυδία[ν] Μάρκου
τὴν] κάστην γυνῆκα αὐτοῦ
ἕνεκα] μνήμης.

Sis was formerly identified by Ramsay with Flaviopolis (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 385). The era of this city was A.D. 74 which will make the date of the inscription A.D. 319, if the identification, which he is now inclined to abandon, is correct.

No. 12. D.G.H. 1891. *Marash* (*Germanicia*?).
Cut on the rock over tomb-doors in a street.

(1) ЄVЄVΨΥΧΙΑ — Εὐ <ευ>ψύχι(=ει) Α-
ΓΑΘΟΚΛΙΑ — γαθοκλία.
ΟΥΔЄΙCΑΘ — οὐδεὶς ἀθ-
ΑΝΑΤΟC — άνατος.

(2) ЄVΨVΧΗC — Εὐψύχη(=ει) Σ-
/////////ΜΗΟΥ — [αλω?)μη. οὐ-
/////////ΑΘΑΝ — δεὶς] ἀθάν-
//////ΤΟC — α]τος.

No. 13. J.A.R.M. 1891. *Ibid.*
Fragments of stele, round at the top, broken below and chipped to right, built into the wall of a private house; the rest is built in close by, but the writing is hidden.

ΘΕΩΕΠΗΚΟΩ — θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ
ΖΑΡΙΗΙC — Ζαρίηις
ΒΑΡΝΑΙΟΥ — Βαρναίου
CΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC — στρατηγὸς
ΕΥΡΩΝΑΝΕC — εὑρὼν ἀνέσ-
ΤΗCΕΝΥΠΕΡΤ — τησεν ὑπὲρ τ-
— [ῆς σωτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ].

Commagene.

No. 14. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1895. *Samsat* (*Samosata*).

×

ΒΑC 1
ΟCΔΙΚΑΙΟCΕΠΙΦΑΝΗ
ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟCΚΒΑCΙΛΕΩ
ΝΙΚΟΥΚΑΙΒΑCΙΛΙCCΗCΛ
ΛΦΟΥΤΗCΕΚΒΑCΙΛΕΩCΑΝΤ 5
ΜΗΤΟΡΟCΚΑΛΙΝΙΚΟΥΤΟΥΤ
ΙΗCΝΟΜΟΝΤΕΚΟΙΝΗCΕΥCΕ
ΛΠΑΝΤΑΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΩ
ΞΕΠΙΕΡΑΙC . ΕΓΩΠΑΝΤΩΝΑΡ
CΙΝΒΕΒΑΙΟΤΑΤΗΝΛΛΛΑΚ 10
ΙΟΠΟΙΙΕΝΟΠΙΣΑΤΗ
ΤΕΚΡΙCΙΝΚΑΙΔΥΝΑΜΕΩCΕ
ΚΑΡΙCΤΗCΑΙΤΙΑΝΕCΧΟΝ
ΦΘΗΝΑΓΑCΙΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑCΕΜ
ΤΗΝΚΑΙ . ΕΡΨΙΝΑΜΕΙΜΗΤΟΝ 15
ΤΗΤΑΔΙΑΚΑΙΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΥCΜΕ
ΔΙΕΦΥΓΟΝΚΑΙΠΡΑΞΕΩΝΔΥCΕ
ΕΠΕΚΡΑΤΗCΑΚΑΙΒΙΟΥΠΟΛΥΕΤΟ
ΡΩΘΗΝΕΓΩΠΑΤΡΩΙΑΝΒΑCΙΛΕΙ
ΔΙΟCΤΕΩΡΟΜΑCΔΟΥΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛ 20
ΜΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΤΑΓΝΟΥΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥC
ΜΕΝΟCΠΑΛΑΙΑCΔΥΝΑΜΕΩC
ΜΗCΗΛΙΚΙΩΤΙΝΘΕΩΝΜΕΓΑΛΩ
ΕΝΙΕΡΑΙΤΕΛΙΘΕΙΑΙΜΙΑCΠΕΡΙΟ
ΝΙΟΙCΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΑΜΟΡΦΗCΕΜΗC 25
ΝΕΙCΔΕΞΙΑCΠΑΡΕCΤΗCΑΜΕ
CΩΝΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΥΦΡΟΝΤΙΔΟC

×

I have indicated the corner of the stone round which the inscription runs with crosses × ×.

βασ[ιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος θε-
ὸς δίκαιος ἐπιφανὴ[ς φιλορώμαιος καὶ
φιλέλλην ὁ [ἐ]κ βασιλέ[ως Μιθραδάτου κα-
λι]νίκου καὶ βασιλίσσης Λ[αοδίκης θεᾶς φιλ-

αδέ]λφου τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως Ἀντ[ιόχου θεοῦ φι-
λο]μήτορος καλινίκου τοῦτ[ο εὐσεβείᾳ γνώμης
ἐ]μῆς νόμον τε κοινῆς εὐσε[βείας σεβόμενος τ-
ὰ πάντα προνοίαι δαιμόνω[ν λιθείαις ἀπέδει-
ξ' ἐπ' ἱεραῖς. ἐγὼ πάντων ἀγ[αθῶν οὐ μόνον κτῆ-
σιν βεβαιοτάτην ἀλλὰ κ[αὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην
ἀνθ]ρώποις ἐνόμισα τὴ[ν εὐσέβειαν, τὴν αὐτήν
τε κρίσιν καὶ δυνάμεως ε[ὐτυχοῦς καὶ χρήσεως μα-
καριστῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχον, [παρ' ὅλον τε τὸν βίον ὤ-
φθην ἁπᾶσι βασιλείας ἐμ[ῆς καὶ φύλακα πιστοτά-
την καὶ [τ]έρψιν ἀμείμητον [ἡγούμενος τὴν ὁσιό-
τητα. Δι' ἃ καὶ κινδύνους με[γάλους παραδόξως
διέφυγον καὶ πράξεων δυσε[λπίστων εὐμηχάνως
ἐπεκράτησα καὶ βίου πολυετο[ῦς μακαρίστως ἐπλη-
ρώθην. ἐγὼ πατρωίαν βασιλεί[αν παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ
Διός τε Ὡρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἑρ-
μοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους [Ἄρεως, καὶ ποιη-
σά]μενος παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως [καὶ τύχης νέας τῆς ἐ-
μῆς ἡλικιῶτιν θεῶν μεγάλω[ν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τιμὴν
ἐν ἱεραῖ τε λιθείαι μιᾶς περιο[. . . δαίμοσιν οὐρα-
νίοις χαρακτῆρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς [ἐπηκόοις σύνθρονο-
ν εἰς δεξιὰς παρέστησα, με[ίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσ-
σων ἀθανάτου φροντίδος . . . . . .

On one side and the back of a broken slab of black basalt in the possession of H. J. B. Lynch, Esq., of 33 Pont St., London. This slab was brought to England some years ago by Mr. Lynch's father 'from the banks of the Euphrates near Samosata.' On the front of the slab a human figure is carved in relief. Only the upper part of the figure is preserved; it is turned to the left with right hand extended and wears a radiate crown. The whole slab measures 2 ft. 7 in. in height, 1 ft. 2 in. in breadth and 9 in. in width. The depth of the relief in which the figure is carved is at the forehead 1½ in. and at the breast 3 in.

From the character of the inscription and relief, the material and the general correspondence in measurement, there can be no doubt that this stone belongs to a series of reliefs, one of which has been found already at the village of *Selik* near *Samsat* (Samosata) and is published in Humann and Puchstein's book (*Reisen in K.A.* p. 368, ff.). The subject of this relief is very similar to that of one of the reliefs found on the Nemrud Dagh in which King Antiochus of Commagene is represented in converse with Heracles whose hand he grasps, and it has an inscription which is almost word for word the same as a portion of the long inscription which Humann and Puchstein found on these monuments. Hence they infer that a second series of reliefs on a much smaller scale with the same subjects and inscriptions was put up by Antiochus at or near Samosata, for it is not certain that the monument at *Selik* is *in situ*. The inscription on Mr. Lynch's stone in the

same way corresponds almost exactly with the beginning of the long inscription on the Nemrud Dagh; it is written in the same manner, that is, partly on the side and partly on the back of the slab, and the figure of the relief is turned with extended hand as if in converse with another figure. By the analogy of another of the reliefs belonging to the large monuments this figure may be identified almost certainly with Apollo, who wears here as there a radiate crown (Humann and Puchstein, *op. cit.* taf. xxxviii. 2). The only discrepancy between this slab and the slab found by Humann and Puchstein is in the measurement of the depth. Our slab measures 9 inches, theirs 22 inches, but there is no reason why the slabs should have been all of the same thickness.

The restoration of the inscription presents little difficulty. Lines 1–6 are the same as the beginning of the inscription on the Nemrud Dagh (H. and P. *op. cit.* p. 272, lines 1–7) and lines 9–19 of our inscription correspond exactly with lines i. a. 10–24 of theirs. The rest of the inscription can be easily restored with the exception of line 19. Mr. Hogarth suggests *περιο*[*χῆς*], Mr. G. F. Hill *περιό*[*δου*] (*i.e.* a stone relief filling one circuit of the monument). The expression *εἰς δεξιάς* = 'in converse' does not occur on the large inscription, but doubtless there was a relief on this monument representing Antiochus and Heracles grasping hands as on the Nemrud Dagh.

No. 15. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*

////// ↄΥΠΡCCΒCЄΒΑΝΤΙCΤΡ//////

. . . *ου πρ*(*ε*)*σβ*(*ευτοῦ*) *Σεβ*(*αστοῦ*) *ἀντιστρ*[*ατήγου*] . . . .

Cut in large letters on a big squared stone built into the *kalé* at Samosata. Unfortunately the name of this 'legatus Augusti' is missing.

No. 16. D.G.H. 1894. *Ibid.*

ↄΥΦΛΘЄοΦΙΛ

\ΟΝΤΟΝΚΤΙCΗΝ

ΙΟΥΛΩΙΟΥΛΙΟ

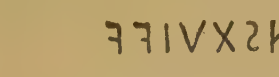
On a pedestal in the court of an Armenian house.

No. 17. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*

↺ Θ ↺ Μ	[I]. (O). M.
LEG $\overline{\text{X}}$v$\overline{\text{I}}$	Leg[io] XVI.
F ↺ F	F[lavia] F[irma]

On a cippus in a private house.

No. 18. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*



Legion(i)s XVI. F[laviae] F[irmae].

Retrograde. On a tile shown to us. The Legio XVI. Flavia Firma was brought into existence by Vespasian, and is already known to have been stationed here (v. *C.I.L.* vol. vi. p. 1404, and Mommsen's *Provinces*, vol. ii. p. 119).

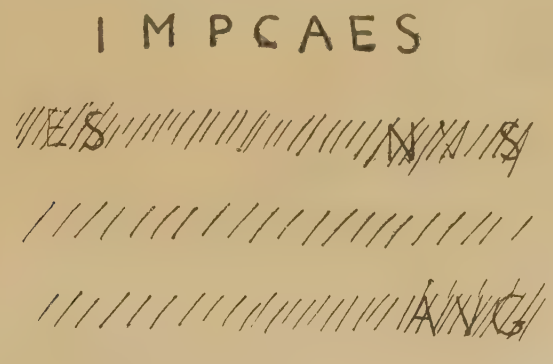
No. 19. D.G.H. 1894. *Kiakhta.*

ΟΡΠΕΡ . Ε .	*ο(ὗ)περ ἐ-*
ΚΥΔΑΙΝΕ .	*κύδαινε[ν*
ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ	*Φιλάδελ-*
ΦΟCΕΤΕΥΞΑ	*φος ἐτεύξ[α-*
ΤΟΒΩΜΟΝ	*το βωμόν.*
ΑΝΑΞΙΝ	*Ἄναξιν.*

Hexameter. On an altar in a private house. Philadelphus dedicated the altar to one of the kings of Commagene, meaning the reigning king to be understood, while he adds a dedication at the end to all the kings (past and present).

No. 20. V.W.Y., D.G.H. 1894. *Ibid.*

At the Roman bridge on the column nearest the left bank of the Kiakhta Chai, almost completely erased. It is on the same column as that on which the name of Julia Domna is inscribed (v. *C.I.L.* iii. suppl. 6714).



The letters are all so doubtful that it is useless to hazard any conjecture as to the Emperor referred to, but the existence of the inscription is important, as it points to the probability of this bridge being the work of an earlier Emperor than Septimius Severus. It is improbable that the erasure

can be that of Geta's name, for, as Humann and Puchstein have shown, there must have been a fourth column belonging to the bridge on which his name would naturally have been inscribed. The copies of all the inscriptions belonging to the bridge, with the exception of the above, which was not noticed by Humann and Puchstein, are to be found in the Corpus (*C.I.L.* iii. suppl. 6709–6714). In l. 13 of 6714 we read MVNIFICENTISSIMVM.

No. 21. V.W.Y. 1894. *Perrin* (near Adiaman, the ancient Perre).

ΨΥΧΕ	*ψυχ(αὶ)*
ΓΑΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙ	*Γαιανοῦ καὶ*
ΜΑΡΟΑΝΗϹ	*Μαροάνης.*
ΤΑΥΤΑΓΑΡ	*ταῦτα γάρ.*

On a recess cut in the rock; to the right of the inscription are the figures of a reclining man and sitting woman roughly sculptured in the rock. It is one of many tombs cut in the rock which abound on the site. There are probably many more inscriptions to be found on these, but time was short and my investigations were curtailed thereby. *ταῦτα γὰρ* = for this (is what they are). Prof. Ramsay compares *οὐκ ἤμην· ἐγενόμην. οὐκ ἔσομαι· οὐ μέλει μοι. ὁ βίος ταῦτα* (Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 700 and *B.C.H.* 1884, p. 233).

No. 22. V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*

ΜΑΜ	*Μαμ-*
ΒΟΓΕΩ	*βογέω.*
ΑΛΕϹΑΝΔΡΟΥ	*Αλεξάνδρου.*
ΘΕΟΦΟΥ	*Θεόφου.*
ϹΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ	*Σελεύκου.*

The name *Μαμβογῆος* or *Μαμβογέως* = *Μαμβογαῖος* is interesting.[1] Mabug or Mambug was the native name of Hierapolis in Syria, which became in Greek *Βαμβύκη*. The modern name is Membidg.

Cappadocia.

No. 23. D.G.H. 1891. *Shahr* (*Comana Cappadociae*).
On a marble mural tablet finely engraved.

ΘΕΑΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ////	*Θεᾷ Μεγίστῃ*
ΤΗΣΧΩΡΑΣΚΑ	*τῆς χώρας κα-*
////////ΧΑΡΙΣ////	*τὰ εὐ]χαρισ[τίαν*
ΙΟΓΑΤΩΧΜΗ	*Μ]ιθρατώχμη[ς*

[1] The name [Μ]*αββογαῖος* has been suggested by Ramsay as a restoration in a Syrian inscription (Wright and Souter in *Pal. Explor. Fund, Quart. St.* 1895, p. 58).

The name Μιθρατώχμης occurs in another inscription copied at the same place and published by Waddington (*v. B.C.H.* vii. 135). He draws attention to the interest of the name. The goddess is evidently Mâ (*v.* Strabo, xii. 535).

No. 24. D.G.H. 1891. *Ibid.*
On a cippus of fine limestone in a yard near the top of the town.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΑΡΧΕΛΑ	Βασιλέα Ἀρχέλα[ον
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝΤΟΝ	φιλόπατριν τὸν
ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝΚΑΙΣΩΤΗΡΑ	κτίστην καὶ σωτῆρα
ΟΔΗΜΟΣ	ὁ δῆμος.

This is evidently an inscription in honour of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia from B.C. 36 to A.D. 17.

No. 25. D.G.H., J.A.R.M. 1891. *Ibid.*
Stele in the house of Badiler.

ΤΙΑΡΑΒΗϹ	Τιαραβὴς
ΚΑΙΜΙΘΡΗϹΤΙΑΡΑ	καὶ Μίθρης Τιαρα-
ΒΕΙΤΩΙΠΑΤΡΙ	βεῖ τῶι πατρί.

No. 26. D.G.H., J.A.R.M. 1891. *Ibid.*
On a small marble stele now in the *hammam* at Hadjin, nine hours from Shahr (Comana), but brought from the latter place according to native testimony.

ϹΕΜΕΙΡΑΜΙΣ	Σεμείραμις
ΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ	Ἀρι]οβαρζάνου
ΟΛΩΝΙΑΤΗΑ	Ἀπ]ολωνίᾳ τῇ ἀ-
ΗΤΗΘΥΓΑ	γαπ]ητῇ θυγα-
ΙΙΔΙΑΑΝΑΠΝϹ	τρ]ὶ ἰδίᾳ - -

The last word, which is quite clear on the stone, may possibly be meant as a contraction for *ἀναπαυσαμένῃ*.

No. 27. W.M.R. 1890. D.G.H. 1891. *Ibid.*
Pedestal in a wall in the main street.

ΠΟΥΒΛΑΙΚΙΝΝΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΝ
ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΕϹ
ΤΑΤΟΝΚΑΙϹΑΡΑ ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ
ΤΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟϹ

Πούβλ(ιον) Λικίνν(ιον) Κορνήλιον
Οὐαλεριανὸν τὸν ἐπιφανέσ-
τατον Καίσαρα Ἱεροπολει-
τῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

The name is that of the elder son of the Emperor Gallienus, and corresponds with the form given in *C.I.L.* viii. No. 2383 and *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. No. 6956. For a discussion of the names of the two sons of Gallienus *v. C.I.L.* viii. p. 1051, and *Prosopographia, s.vv.* An inscription of the father has already been found in this district (*v. B.C.H.* vii. p. 132).

No. 28. D.G.H. 1890. *Ibid.*
Stele.

ΗΔΥΒΙΟC	Ἡδύβιος
ΔΑΜΑΟΥ	Δαμᾶ Οὐ-
ΑΡΝΑΤΩ	*ἁρνᾳ τῷ*
ΠΑΤΡΙΜΝΗ	*πατρὶ μνή-*
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	*μης χάριν.*

No. 29. W.M.R. 1890. *Ibid.*

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΑ	Αὐρ. Ἡλιοδώρα
ΡΔΙΑΝΩΤΩ	Γο]ρδιανῷ τῷ
ΣΥΝΚΡΙΤΩΚΑΙ	*ἀ]συνκρίτῳ καὶ*
ΧΡΗCΤΩΑΔΕΛ	*χρηστῷ ἀδελ-*
ΦΩΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑ	*φῷ μνήμης χά-*
ΡΙΝ	*ριν.*

For the same name in this district *v. B.C.H.* vii. 137, Nos. 18 and 19.

No. 30. D.G.H. 1891. *Ibid.*
On a marble stele. The inscription runs round the head of a large cross.

+ ΕΝΘΑΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΕΟΤΗCΜΑΚΑΡΙΑCΜΝΗΜΗCΒΑΧΧΟC

+ *Ἔνθα κατάκιτε ὁ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης* Βάχχος.

No. 31. J.A.R.M. 1891. *Ibid.*
In the main street. Broken R.

ΙΩΝΜΕΙΑΛΟΥΧΡΙCΤΟΙΜ
ΥΩΝΟΡΟΝΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΗΩΝ +

. . . . . μεγάλου Χρίστο . . .
ἔ]χων (θ)ρόνον ἀρχιερήων +

I am unable to explain the monogram.

No. 32. J.A.R.M. 1891. *Seraijik.*

In a cemetery near Seraijik. Quadrangular altar or base ornamented with wreaths.

ΜΕΓΑCΖΕΥCΟ ΡΑΝΙΟCΕΙΟΥΛΙ ΟCΚΑΤΑΚΕΛΕΥ CΙΝ θΕC	Μεγὰς Ζεὺς Οὐ- ράνιος· Εἰούλι- ος κατὰ κέλευ- σιν θεο[ῦ.

Wreath

The inscription is the same as that published in *B.C.H.* vii. p. 147, said to have been copied at Hutchbil; this copy however is an improvement.

No. 33. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894. *Malatia* (*Melitene*).

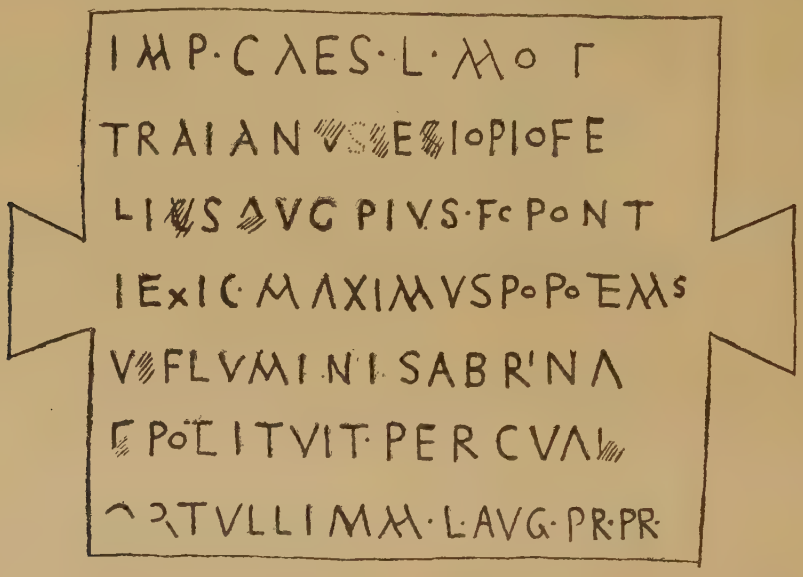
IMP///ES	[I]mp. [Ca]e[s].
//////////////////	. . . . .
FLIVLI////////	Fl. Juli[us Constantius]
ETFLI//////////	et Fl. J[ulius Constans]
PPFFMA//////	P.P.F.F. Ma[ximi Victores]
SEMPERAVG	Semper Aug[usti

On a pillar, certainly a milestone, forty minutes on the road from Malatia (Eski Sheyr) to the bridge of Kirkgeuz Keupru. The stone is defaced above and hacked away below. It is probably the same inscription as that copied by Fischbach and published in the *Corpus* (*C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 6893), though comparatively few of our letters agree with those of his copy. The milestone may have belonged to either the Melitene-Sebastea or Melitene-Satala road, perhaps more probably to the former, as what appears to be a milestone was seen on the line it must have taken in the plain of Hassan Badrik by Brant (*v.* Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. p. 863), and we found no milestones on the line most probably followed by the road Melitene-Satala.

ARMENIA MINOR.

No. 34. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894.

Close to the remains of a Roman bridge over the Kara Budak, a short distance from its junction with the Euphrates on the road from Divrik to Kemakh, 5 hours 40 minutes after leaving the village of Zimarra, 1 hour 30 minutes before reaching the village of Hassan Ova.



Imp. Caes. C. Mo[es].
Traianu[s D]esio Pio Fe-
li(ci)? Aug Pius Fc Pont-
i(f)ex Maximus P(rinceps) O(ptimus) po(n)tem s-
u[p]. flumini Sabrina-
e (res)tituit per C. Va[l. T-
er]tullum l. Aug. pr. pr.

In the first four lines there seems to be considerable confusion between the nominative and dative, Traianus is followed by Desio, etc. In the third line we have Pius Fc. repeated after Pio Felics in the second line and the inscription generally is the work of a poor Latin scholar. Attempts at correction (felic. for felius, pontific. for pontifex) may afterwards have been made. Where we should expect to find *restituit* we have a strange word *poltituit* or *potlituit*, every stroke of which is plain on the stone.

For the title of P. O. (princeps optimus) in connection with Trajan Decius, compare *C.I.L.* ii. 4958.

The name of the legatus Augusti, though it cannot be restored certainly

from the inscription, is new (v. Liebenam *Forschungen*, p. 119). Possibly we should read Tertullianum.

The bridge, the restoration of which is here recorded, must have belonged to the Satala-Melitene road (see my paper in *Geograph. Journ.* viii. 467–8). The name given to the Kara Budak by the Romans, as far as it can be deciphered from the inscription, seems curiously enough to be the same as that given by them to our own Severn.

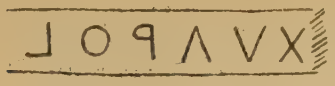
No. 35. D.G.H. 1894.

In a garden, opposite Pingan on the bank of Euphrates, belonging to Mesardurian Bartolomeus. It is not far from the spot where the inscription of Ala II. Ulpia Auriana was found (*Arch. Epigr. Mitth. Oester.* 1884, p. 239.)

Ovidia . . . . . .

No. 36. *Sadagh* (Satala). On tiles. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894.

(1) Picked up.



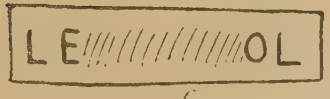
(Leg.) XV. Apol.

(2) In threshold of house of Mehemet Suleiman.

Leg. XV. A

(3) In house of Hadji Hassan.

(4) *Ibidem.*



(5) *Ibidem.*

LEGXV

Legio XV. Apollinaris was stationed at Satala (v. *Notit. Dignit. Orient.* cap. xxxv.) and the discovery of these tiles places the identification of Sadagh with Satala, which has been generally accepted, beyond doubt. Other inscriptions of the same legion have been found at Carnuntum in Pannonia (v. *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. Oester.* vol. v. pp. 208 f. f.).

No. 37. V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*
In the graveyard.

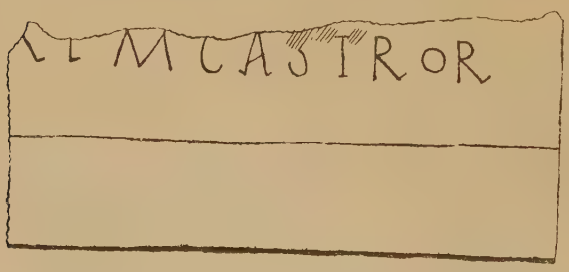
ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΑ	*ἐνθάδε κατά-*
ΚΙΤΕΟΜΑΚΑ	*κιτε ὁ μακά-*
ΡΙΟCΑΝΔΡΕΑC	*ριος Ἀνδρέας*
ΚΕΑΝΑΓΕΝΩC	*κὲ ἀναγενώσ-*
ΚΟ////ΤΕCΕΥΞΑC	*κο[ν]τες εὔξασ-*
ΤΕΥΠΕΡΕΜΟΥ	*τε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.*

ἀναγενώσκοντες is for *ἀναγιγνώσκοντες*. For the formula compare No. 44 from Nicopolis. Many similar epitaphs exist at Sadagh, but those that we were able to decipher are of little or no interest.

No. 38. D.G.H. 1894. *Ibid.*

. . IVS AMMON	C. Iul]ius Ammon-
IVSE . CIVLI	ius e[t] C. Iuli[us
RVS . . . . SF . AT	Rus[ticu]s f[r]at[res.

No. 39. V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*
On stone built into the roof of the mosque. Apparently the end of an inscription. Broken above and to left.



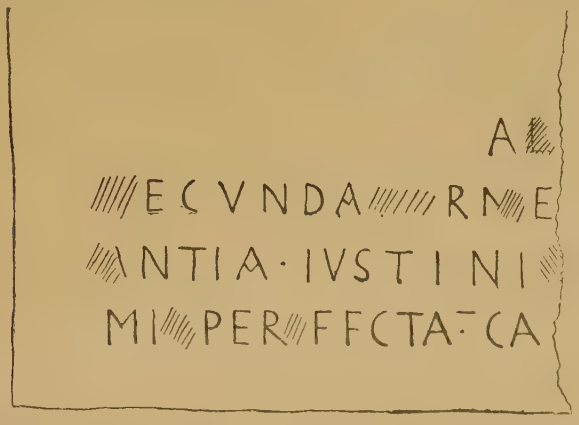
matre]m castror(um).

The first letter of the inscription is evidently an R from which we must infer a vowel between R and M, and though the tail of the intermediate letter is quite plain on the stone and it should be I, it is best on the whole to

restore it as E (perhaps F for E by error). Mater Castrorum is doubtless Julia Domna.

No. 40. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*

In room of house of Bal Oglu Hassan. At the bottom of an oblong slab 4 ft. high, broken to r. The inscription is in a very bad light, and being built into the living room of a house, it was impossible to have it moved. Consequently the readings are doubtful.



Line 1. L may be R. *Line* 4: there may be another letter between R and F.

Mr. Hogarth suggests

Al[a
[S]ecunda [A]rme[niaca Const-]
antia Justini[ana]
Mi[lia] perfecta ca[str]

I have not however been able to find other instances of the formula 'milia perfecta,' and Justiniana is an unlikely name for an ala, at least none of the known alae take their names from so late an Emperor.

Armeniorum is an alternative to Armeniaca. There was an ala secunda Armeniorum at the Oasis Minor in Egypt (*Not. Dign.* xxv. A 9). For Armenians in the Roman army, v. Arrian (ἔκταξις 29).

No. 41. D.G.H., V.W.Y. 1894. *Ibid.*

On an altar built into the wall of the house of Suleiman Selim Chaoush.

GEN·CoL	Gen(io) Col(oniae)
LE·FECiT	Le(gio) fecit
. .)N·S·F	. . . s(acris) f(aciundis)?

On another side of the same below a wreath.

COR	Cor(ona)

This appears to indicate that Satala was a colony, a fact not known from other sources. That it may have been a colony and yet have struck no coins is not without parallel, v. Ramsay *Hist. Geogr.* p. 284.

To these inscriptions of Satala may be added one of the Emperor Aurelian found there by Taylor in 1868 (*Journal R.G.S.* xxxviii. p. 288). which may be restored from his copy as follows: Imp. Caes. L. Dom Au(r)[eliano] P[io] (F)[elici] Invicto Aug[usto] Pontif[ici] Ma[ximo] . . . . . [P]ar[thico] Ma[ximo . . . . . The letters ARMA of his copy may also be C]ar[pico] Ma[ximo] as in another inscription (Orelli 1029). I draw attention to the inscription as it has not found its way into the *Corpus*.

We also found a milestone in the village, but it is in such bad condition that little more than the letters IMP could be made out.

No. 42. J.A.R.M. 1891. Purk (Nicopolis).

⁺ΤΗΔΕΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΑΙΟΤΗϹΜΑ	Τῇδε *κατάκιται ὁ τῆς μα-*
ΚΑΡΙΑϹΜΝΗΜΗϹϹΩΤΗΡΙΚΟϹ	*καρίας μνήμης Σωτηρικὸς*
ΟϹΤΟΝΩΡΙϹΜΕΝΟΝΑΥΤΩΙΑ	*ὃς τὸν ὡρισμένον αὐτῷ πα-*
ΡΑΘΥ ΧΡΟΝΟΝΒΙΩϹΑϹΤΟΠΑ	*ρὰ Θ(εοῦ) χρόνον βιώσας τὸ πᾶ-*
ϹΙΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΑΠΑΡΕΤΗΤΟΝΤΥ	*σι κοινὸν κἀπαρέτητον τοῦ*
ΒΙΥΤΕΡΑϹΕΔΕΞΑΤΟΤΗΝΠΑΝ	*βίου πέρας ἐδέξατο τὴν παν-*
ΚΟϹΜΙΟΝΤΗϹΑΝΑϹΤΑϹΕΩϹ	*κόσμιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως*
ΤΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩΝΕΛΠΙΔΑ⁺	*περιμένων ἐλπίδα* +

No. 43. D.G.H. 1891. *Ibid.*

Altar-stele now used to form the altar of the lower church. Broken below.

ΟΠΙΟϹΜΑΡ	Ὅπιος Μάρκος *βιώσας καλῶς*
ΚΟϹΒΙΩϹΑϹ	*εὐσεβῶν* Μάρκος Ὅπιος Ἀβύλας
ΚΑΛΩϹΕΥϹ	*υἱὸς ἀνέστησεν β*[ω]*μὸν μνή*[*μης*
ΕΒΩΝΜΑΡΚ	*χάριν.*]
ΟϹΟΠΙΟϹΑΒ	
ΥΛΑϹΥΙΟϹΑ	
ΝΕϹΤΗϹΕΝΒ	
//ΟΜΟΝΜΝΗ	

No. 44. D.G.H. 1891. *Ibid.* On a small stele very rudely engraved.

+ΕΝΘΑΔΕ Κ////	+ *Ἐνθάδε κ[ατά-*
ΚΙΤΑΙΗΜ////	*κιται Ἡμ[ε-*
ΡΙ ωΤΓΕω,	*ρὶ(ς) (Ὁ)τ(ρ)έω[ς or ρι(ος) Γεω[ργίου].*
ΟΙ//ΝΑΓΙΝΩC	*οἱ [ἀ]ναγινώσ-*
ΚΟΝΤΕCΕΥ	*κοντες εὖ-*
ΞΑC ΘΑΙΠΕ ΡΙ	*ξασθαι περὶ*
ΑΥΤΗC	*αὐτῆς.*

A similar formula occurs in one of our inscriptions from Satala (No. 37), and also in Lycaonia, see Ramsay's note in *Jahreshefte des Oest. Inst.* i., Beiblatt, p. 95.

Pontus.

No. 45. D.G.H., J.A.R.M. 1891. Kejiut.

Limestone slab in the graveyard, ornate letters deeply and very carefully cut between ruled lines. The slab appears to have been let into a wall. Native Armenians reported that it had been brought from Sivri Tepe, where are ruins of a church, two hours in an easterly direction from Kejiut.

Ϝ ΟΡΑCKS//Ο ΑΥΜΑ//ΙCΑΓΑΘΟΥΚ· ΦΙΛΟ

ΧΡΙCΤΟΥΔΕCΠΟΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΝ

ΙΟΥCΤΙΝΙΑΝΟC· ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ

ΝΙΚΗ//CΤΡΟ// ΕΘΝΧΟC ΑΕΙCΕΒΑCΤΟC

ΑΝΕΓΙΡΕ////Α//Δ ΕCΠΟΥΔΗKS ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ

ΘΕΟΔ//////ΟΥΤΟS ΕΝΔΟΞS ΚΟΜΗΤS ΤΩΝ

ΚΑΘΟΔΟΜΗKS ΘΕΙΟΥ ΚΟΥΡΑΤΟΡΟC

//ΠΙ// ΩΤΗΡΙΑΤΩΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΗΤΩΝ+

\+ *ὁρᾷς κὲ θαυμά[ζ]ις ἀγαθοῦ κὲ φιλο-*
χρίστου δεσπότου φιλοτιμίαν.
Ἰουστινιανὸς Αὔγουστος αὐτοκράτωρ

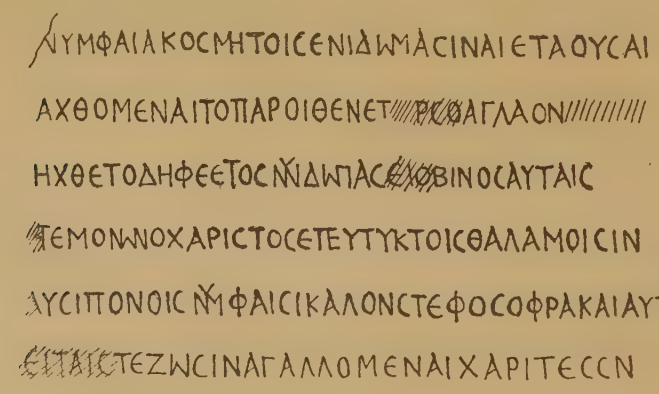
νικη[τὴ]ς τροπεοῦχος ἀεισέβαστος
ἀνέγιρε . α . δε σπουδῇ κὲ προνοίᾳ
Θεοδ[οσί]ου το(ῦ) ἐνδόξ(ου) κόμητ(ος) τῶν
καθο(σιουμένων) δομ(εστικῶν) κὲ θείου κουράτορος
ἐ]πὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκητῶν +

In line 5 either *ἀνέγιρε ταῦτα* or *ἀν. τὰ τῇδε* may be suggested.

Mr. C. H. Turner has supplied the restoration of line 7. Theodosius was *comes devotissimorum domesticorum* and *curator* of the sacred buildings (cf. Novell. Tiberii, c. 1, 2, 4: *οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι κουράτωρες* have charge *τῶν θείων οἴκων*).

No. 46. D.G.H., J.A.R.M. 1891.

Kavsa, *i.e.* Thermae Phazemonitarum (Strabo) in the wall of the mosque, marble stele, broken to left.



Νύμφαι ἀκοσμήτοις ἐνὶ δώμασι ναιετάουσαι
Ἀχθόμεναι τὸ πάροιθεν ἐτ[ή]ρ[ε]ο(ν) ἄγλαον [ὕδωρ·]
Ἤχθετο δ' Ἥφε(σ)τος· νῦν δ' ὤπασε Ἰόβινος αὐταῖς
Ἡ]γεμόνων ὄχ' ἄριστος, ἐπ' εὐτύκτοις θαλάμοισιν
Λυσιπόνοις νύμφαισι καλὸν στέφος, ὄφρα καὶ αὐταὶ
Ἰμ]ε(ρ)ταῖς (ῥ)έζωσιν ἀγαλλόμεναι Χαρίτεσσ(ι)ν.

For previous publications and discussions of this epigram, see Hubert in *Rev. Arch.* xxiv. p. 308, Rubensohn, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1895, col. 380 and 603. The present copy would suggest *ἐτήρεον* in v. 2, and confirms Wilhelm's suggestion of *ἱμερταῖς* in v. 6 (cf. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 669).

No. 47. D.G.H., J.A.R.M. 1891.

Kavsa, in the mosque wall. A late stele made almost illegible by the scratchings of a native decipherer.

ΙΤΑΛΟΣ ΖΗΣΑΣ ΒΙΟΝ	Ἴταλος ζήσας βίον
ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΚΕ ΤΡΟΠΟ	ἀγαθὸν κὲ τρόπο[ν
ΟΡΘΟΝ ΚΕ[illegible]ΟΝΤΟ	ὀρθὸν κὲ [ὑοῦ μο]ι ὄντο[ς
ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟ[illegible]ΗΛΘΟΝ ΕΙΣ	νεανίσκο[ν] ἦλθον εἰς
ΓΗΡΑΣ ΖΩΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΑ	γῆρας. ζῶ(ν) [ἐ]ποίησα
[illegible]ΕΜΑΥΤΩ ΘΕΣΙ[illegible]	ἐμαυτῷ θέσι[ν] φυ-
ΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ[illegible]	λακτήριον . . . . .
ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΓΥΝΕΚΙΜΟ	σὺν τῇ γυνεκί μο[υ
ΔΟΜΝΗ ΕΘΗΣ ΕΖΗΣΑ	Δόμνῃ ΕΘΗΣ. ἔζησα
ΚΑΛΩΣ ΚΕ ΕΤΕΚΝΩΣ	καλῶς κὲ ε(ὐ)τέκνως.
ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΣΤΗΛΗ	μνήμης χάριν στήλη[ν
ΕΧΑΡΑΞ[illegible]Ε	ἐχάραξα κ(ατομυ)ων με-
ΓΑΤΗΡ ΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ	(τ)ὰ τὴ(ν ἡ)μετέραν κατά[θε-
ΣΙΝ ΜΗΔΙΝΑ ΕΠΑΝΥΞΕ	σιν μηδίνα ἐπανῦξε
ΚΕ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΚΗΔΟΣ	κὲ ἕτερον κῆδος
ΚΑΤΑΒΙΝΕ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ	κατα(θ)ίνε· ἐὰν δέ τις
ΕΠΑΝΥΞΗ ΚΕ ΕΤΕ	ἐπανύξῃ κὲ ἕτε-
ΡΟΝ ΚΗΔΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΘΗ	ρον κῆδος καταθῇ
ΔΩΣΙ ΤΩ ΤΑΜΙΩ	δώσι τῷ ταμίῳ
ΠΡΟΣΤΙΜΟΥ ✳ ΒΦ	προστίμου ✳ ΒΦ
ΕΔΩΚΕ ΑΣΕΒΙΑ[illegible]	ἔδωκε ἀσεβία[ς
ΓΟ[illegible]ΕΖΙ	. . . . .

The inscription seems to have been written by Italos, who records the preparation of the tomb for himself and wife, and the erection of a *στήλη* in his memory, and adds the usual curse against violators of the tomb. For the corrupt form of *κατομνύων* compare Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. pt. 2, p. 734, etc. The last line probably gives the name of the violator and the amount of penalty paid, but it is impossible to restore it satisfactorily.

V. W. Yorke.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1897–8.

THE past year has not been one of startling discoveries. The effect of the disastrous war has been a paralysing one and the difficulties in the way of archaeological work have been great. While the political situation was so complicated, new undertakings were almost out of the question: it is to be hoped, however, that the report on 1898–9 will be able to speak of Crete as having been thrown open to the scientific world. The most interesting archaeological event has been the foundation of a new Austrian Institute, under the guidance of Prof. Benndorf in Vienna. Dr. A. Wilhelm, the well-known epigraphist, and Dr. W. Reichel, whose brilliant essay on Homeric Armour has won for him a prominent place among archaeologists, are permanently stationed at Athens, and a building is contemplated in the near future. Dr. R. Heberdey will be stationed at Smyrna and Dr. Kalinka at Constantinople, so that the new Austrian Institute will be a powerful agency for the discovery and preservation of Hellenic antiquities. The old publication '*Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*' is now brought to a conclusion, and is replaced by the '*Jahreshefte des österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes,*' of which vol. i. has appeared. The contemplated international congress of archaeologists at Athens, which the war of 1897 rendered out of the question, was announced for Easter 1898 to synchronize with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the French School, but this year as before practical difficulties caused its postponement. The adjourned festivities at the French School took place as arranged. If the congress is to assemble at a future date, it will be necessary that arrangements should be made for it long enough beforehand to ensure its success.

The work of the German, American, and British Schools has continued on the usual lines. During the early months of the year Dr. Dörpfeld took a six weeks' trip to Egypt and briefly recounted his impressions at a meeting of the German School on March 31. His remarks about the Temples of Philae in connexion with the contemplated water-storage reservoir at Assouan were exceedingly just. It was hoped, that the protest of British scholars would have had effect in causing the abandonment of any plan, by which the island would be submerged at all. It appears, however, that according to the modified plan Philae will still be covered every season with a few feet of water. It cannot be too strongly insisted, that this means destruction equally with the old plan, only that the process will be more gradual.[1] The utility of the scheme is clear and no greater benefit could be bestowed on Egypt, but even if the expense of building two

[1] See (with reference to Luxor and Karnak) L Borchardt, '*Bericht über die Corrosion des Sandsteinmaterials der Tempelbauten auf Philae,*' Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad. 1898. 23.

reservoirs instead of one be incurred, it is surely better than that the British occupation of Egypt should suffer under a deserved imputation of needless Vandalism.

The first thing that has struck the eye of the visitor to Athens this spring has been the solid scaffolding on the west front of the Parthenon. The suspension of the work of repairs has been due not merely to the war but to the difficulty of securing sufficiently large blocks of marble from Pentelicus to replace the shattered parts of the architrave. Several blocks when brought were found to be useless and are lying on the Acropolis. A new company has however been formed, which is beginning to quarry on the Marathon side of the mountain, and it is hoped that it will shortly be in a position to supply blocks of the requisite size and strength. It has been rather a shock to the eye for visitors to see this scaffolding, but there is reason for thankfulness that the serious earthquake of 1894 did not bring down the whole west front. At any rate the work in hand will prevent any further destruction of the great fabric.

The excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis in the previous year resulted, it will be remembered, in the complete clearing of the caves of Apollo and Pan and the uncovering of an interesting way of access to the Acropolis, while the chief actual find was the inscription which finally settles the date of building of the Temple of Nike. Part of the construction laid bare by this excavation under the caves is now regarded by Dr. Dörpfeld as belonging to the north enclosing wall of the Pelargikon, which in this direction extends just beyond the Clepsydra so as to bring it within the fortification of the Acropolis and its slope. The wall in question abuts on the citadel rock just under the western of the two caves. Another wall uncovered which runs down northwards towards the town he regards as part of the so-called wall of Valerian. The most interesting find made this year is an inscription containing part of a *ψήφισμα* proposed by Alcibiades. As it has been published with commendable promptitude by M. Kavvadias (*Eph. Arch.* 1898, 1–2.), in whose charge the excavations have been, it is not necessary to say more than that it is similar to *C.I.A.* iv. 1. p. 18, No. 61*a*, an inscription found in the Asklepieion and containing a decree which confirms the arrangements of the *στρατηγοί* with the people of Selymbria. Thucydides (viii. 23) tells us that the Athenians occupied Clazomenae, while the anti-Athenian party retired to Daphnus, and that (viii. 31) Astyochus made an attempt on Clazomenae later. This decree ratifies the arrangements of the generals with the Clazomenians, who occupied Daphnus. Either therefore the anti-Athenian party made their submission and received terms, or the Spartans were successful in expelling the Athenian party to Daphnus, with whom the Athenian generals then made a covenant. The decree supplements the narrative of Thucydides, though not to the extent of making the whole series of events quite clear. It must have been proposed during Alcibiades' stay at Athens in 408. In the ruined Byzantine church of the Seraphim, which had been covered by the débris from the Acropolis excavations, other inscriptions were found, including an architrave block inscribed Κυνικῶν.

Work has also been progressing at the Stoa of Attalos under the charge of M. Mylonás, with a view to its complete clearing. A beginning was made at the south side, and on the west side traces were found of an old road. The chief finds include an inscription of the fourth century B.C. referring to Ζεὺς φράτριος and Ἀθήνη, a portrait-head (probably of one of the Pergamene royal family), and a small female head of the best period.

Thirdly the Greek Archaeological Society has been excavating in the peribolos of the Olympieion, the work being in charge of M. G. Nikolaides. Since Mr. Penrose's work, nothing has been done, and the large precinct has never been thoroughly investigated. It was also thought that some of the standing columns required strengthening. The whole foundation of the temple has been dug round and the stylobate has been found to consist of three steps, the upper of marble and the lower two of poros. The lowest is only half the width of the other two on the north, south and west sides, and was apparently only used as a step on the east side, though smoothed and polished and so intended to be visible. In many places the whole structure has been removed. A drain for the purpose of carrying off the rain-water from the temple was discovered running along the outside.[1] The foundations of the remaining columns have been strengthened, and in the precinct by the north wall, a number of inscriptions and sculptured fragments of Roman times have been found. South of Kallirhoe on the Ilissus M. Skias has found a few foundations which appear to belong to the Ionic temple by the Ilissus of Stuart and Revett: and Dr. Dörpfeld regards this as the temple of Artemis Agrotera.

The excavations of the German Institute in Athens have also been continued. After laying bare the ἀρχαία ἀγορά Dr. Dörpfeld's chief object has been to investigate the extent of the later Agora by discovering, if possible, some of the buildings which surrounded it. Beneath the so-called Theseion on its east side, it will be remembered that he had already found two buildings, one of which, a quadrangular hall, may well have been the famous Stoa Basileios. Anyhow, in these buildings he sees with great probability the western side of the Agora (*Ath. Mitt.* xxi. 458, xxii. 225). This season he has attempted to fix the position of the south side of the Agora on the north slope of the Areopagus, and in an open space by the little church of the Prophet Elias actually came upon the corner of an old Greek building running east and west, surrounded by several later walls. There is great probability that this is part of the foundations of one of the buildings on the south side of the Agora, perhaps the Metroon or the Bouleuterion. If, as Dr. Dörpfeld thinks, the so-called Stoa of the Giants also marks a side of the Agora, the dimensions of the latter are nearly ascertained. At the same time an excavation on a piece of land belonging to M. Kalliphronas, the demarch of Athens, higher up on the north slope of the Areopagus, resulted in the discovery of six graves of the Dipylon period. These graves dated from a time when the whole of the Areopagus lay outside the fortified wall of the Polis, *i.e.* the Acropolis and its western and south-western slope. Two

[1] A recent incorrect newspaper report seems to refer to the finding of the basis of the cultus-statue.

iron swords, an iron knife, and a bronze lance-head were found with characteristic geometric vases of the earlier Dipylon period. The interest of the discovery lies in the fact that traces were found of both burying and burning the corpses, so that it is no longer possible to hold that cremation was a much later practice than burying. Both seem to have existed side by side at a very early period. No success attended Dr. Dörpfeld's efforts to locate the Thesmophorion and the Eleusinion. He has no doubt that the latter sanctuary must have been situated on the west slope of the Acropolis in the great bend of the carriage-road, and south of the Amyneion discovered by himself, but hardly even foundations remained traceable on this spot. Similarly while he still maintains the identity of the temple of Demeter Kore and Triptolemos seen by Pausanias 'above the Enneakrounos' with the Thesmophorion, holding that the Pnyx had the same relation to it as the Bouleuterion to the Metroon, no remains were discovered in the spot where he looked for them. Some time was devoted to clearing the great subterranean aqueduct between the theatre of Herodes and its terminus beneath the Pnyx. To the investigation of the water-system and its numerous side ramifications, one of which seemed to extend to the Acropolis itself, he has devoted much attention, and pronounces several of the channels and receptacles to be older than the great aqueduct. In order to avert the falling in of the rock over the aqueduct, a shaft thirteen mètres deep was sunk from above at a point half way to the theatre of Herodes. Dr. Dörpfeld will before long be able to publish ample details and plans, which will make us intimately acquainted with the water-system of ancient Athens. Later on in the spring, he commenced an excavation on a piece of ground north of the Kolonos Agoraios and just the other side of the railway. Here a new house was being built, and before its foundations were laid a part of the great street leading from the Dipylon gate to the Agora was unmistakably discovered. When the cutting was made for the extension of the Piraeus railway to the Place de la Concorde, it must have gone through this road, but nothing was observed at the time. It is also contemplated to make trial diggings on the Kolonos itself round the 'Theseion,' in the hope of obtaining further light on the identification of this temple.

Mr. C. N. Brown of the American School has been investigating the outside of the Acropolis with a view of finding inscriptions. His researches carried on with considerable risk to life and limb have been rewarded by the discovery of a number of unknown or lost stones. Dr. Cooley of the same school has been investigating the traces left by the pedimental sculptures of the 'Theseion,' and it is announced that Dr. Sauer will shortly follow up his similar work on the Parthenon with a dissertation on this subject.

Not much change in the Museums of Athens is to be reported. The sculptures of one of the pediments of the old Athena temple, the subject being Athena in the Gigantomachy, have been set up in the Acropolis Museum, and will surprise those who have not seen them both by their unexpected completeness and also by the complete contrast they offer to the Aeginetan marbles, from which they cannot be far removed in time. In the

smaller museum a sample of the architectural members of this temple has also been mounted, which will give a good idea of its external appearance. The National Museum every year is getting into more complete order, but discoveries come so quickly, that the process of mounting and exhibiting everything is necessarily slow. The collection of bronzes, increased by those from the Acropolis and Olympia, has received a noteworthy addition in the shape of an archaic bronze nude statue of Poseidon, found by a fisherman in pieces near Dombréna and the site of the ancient Kreusis. In spite of the restorations, which have unfortunately been coloured so as to resemble the bronze, the general effect is very striking. The feet are perfect, the left leg being advanced. The head is bearded and much resembles the Zeus-head from Olympia. The arms are broken off; the left was raised, but as the weight of the body rests on the left leg, probably did not rest on a sceptre, but may have brandished a trident. The lowered right arm perhaps held a tunny-fish. The head has the hair carefully incised with parallel lines starting from the crown. There is a plain circlet and two rows of fourteen forehead curls. The eyes are hollow. The beard is wedge-shaped and has the small interior wedge below the lower lip, as in the case of the bronze head (of a strategos ?) from the Acropolis. The nipples were like the eyes, specially inserted. The total height of the figure is about 1·18 mètres. The thickness of the bronze proves its genuineness—if proof were necessary.

At Eleusis, M. Skias has been digging for some years on the south slope of the Acropolis hill and in the neighbourhood. He has now published the interesting results of his work. The importance of his discoveries is that he found the layers of succeeding ages undisturbed. Immediately over the layers of Mycenaean sherds, he found Geometric pottery containing some of the rude ware with scratched patterns like that found at Aphidna, and argues from his finds that the Dipylon art must have been developed elsewhere and imported into Attica full-blown. He is strongly of opinion that it came in from north Greece with the Dorians. The practice of cremation seems to have been the rule at Eleusis. The same enterprising archaeologist is also reported to have found traces at Eleusis of a sanctuary of Asklepios earlier in date than those at present known. At Megara Dr. Dörpfeld has been investigating the topography and water-system of the ancient town in company with M. Stambolas, a native who has studied Megarian antiquities and contemplates writing a monograph on the subject. The most interesting conclusion, at which he has arrived, is that which takes the converse view to Lolling's with respect to the sites of Nisaea and Minoa. Lolling regarded the low hill called Paleókastro with the mediaeval tower as Minoa, and placed the Acropolis of Nisaea on the much higher hill crowned by a small chapel of St. George to the east. Dr. Dörpfeld is, however, confident that the reverse is the case. On the latter hill he has discovered a wall which he thinks is probably part of the fortifications erected by the Athenians on Minoa. To this view Prof. S. P. Lambros, in making known a boundary stone inscription from Megara of the fifth century with Διὸς Μιλιχίο Πανφύλο at a meeting of the German Institute, has given his support.

The American school continued its work at Corinth this season and the excavations lasted for about three months ending on June 12. The main result was the excavation of the Peirene of Pausanias, the site of which is now definitely fixed at a spot about 100 yards directly south of the Platia of the modern village. Hitherto there had been two views, according to one of which it was the spring on Acro-Corinth (so Strabo, viii. p. 379, a view mentioned by Paus. ii. 5, 1) now covered by a Turkish well-house, while the other identified it with the 'bath of Aphrodite' so-called, below the village of Old Corinth in the direction of Lechaeum (see Frazer, Paus. vol. iii. p. 24). Prof. Richardson writes to me as follows: 'There can be no doubt of the identity. It has six chambers with natural rock covering, but back, front and sides architecturally equipped, and so fits exactly the phrase of Pausanias *οἰκήματα σπηλαίοις κατὰ ταὐτά* (ii. 3, 3). The façade which was in two storeys, had the marble revetment mentioned by Pausanias, as is evidenced by holes and by masses of fragments of thin plates of marble. One of these fragments was inscribed PIREΓ. Besides the adjustment, which dates from the time of Pausanias, an older as well as a later adjustment is plainly discernible. Two rock-cut channels, traced to an aggregate of about 300 yards, still bring water down from the direction of Acro-Corinth past the two ends of the façade supplying the modern village. In front of the façade which faces north, was uncovered a semi-circular building closely connected with it, which is likely to be the *περίβολος* of Apollo *πρὸς τῇ Πειρήνῃ* of Pausanias (ii. 3, 3). The agora may now be located within very narrow limits just south of Peirene. The old temple appears now to be the temple of Apollo.' (It at first seemed likely that the old temple was to be identified with the *ναοὶ θεῶν ὁ μὲν Διὸς ὁ δ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ* (ii. 4, 5), since the division into two separate parts has been proved by Dr. Dörpfeld. In the light of the new identifications it seems natural to point to the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens and to conjecture that the western cella at Corinth also was used as a treasure-house). 'Two more columns of this temple, the seventh and eighth on the south side, reckoning from the west end, were found lying, just where they fell outward. A flight of poros steps was found leading from the temple down in the direction of Peirene, and a flight of marble steps, quite imposing, leading up past the west end of Peirene towards the agora. West of this latter flight of steps, a long building, probably a stoa, with walls standing to a height of from eight to twelve feet, was brought to light, closing the valley on its side towards the temple. There were also found six large marble statues without heads, a great quantity of old Corinthian ware mostly fragmentary, one whole geometric amphora, two interesting bronze figurines and a great many Roman inscriptions mostly fragmentary, as well as several Greek. Among the latter the most interesting is one of the age of the Dveinias-inscription,' (which was also found near Old Corinth by Lolling *Athen. Mitt.* i. p. 40, Pl. I.) 'and another of uncertain date, but as late as the imperial times, reading ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗΕΒΡ *συν]αγωγὴ Ἑβρ[αίων.*' The American school is greatly to be congratulated on the success of a campaign, where great patience and considerable outlay were required. Another

season's work will add Corinth to the number of those Greek sites, whose topography has been practically elucidated.

The Austrian school undertook an excavation on the site of the temple of Artemis at Lousoi in North Arcadia, near to the village of Súdhena, on the slopes of Mt. Khelmos and not very much further from the town of Kalávryta. The interest attaching to this site was increased by the mention of it by Bacchylides in the ode in which he recounts the legend of the healing of the daughters of Proetus (x. [xi.] 96, 110 Blass): clearly it must have been, therefore, a well-known sanctuary in the fifth century B.C. Unfortunately, Drs. Wilhelm and Reichel did not meet with the success that was hoped, as the site had already been plundered by private persons. Even in such an out-of-the-way spot as this, this danger has to be faced by intending excavators, and it is but few who are lucky enough in Greece to find an actually virgin site. Little else is to be noted from the Peloponnesus in the way of excavation or discovery during the past year. The Museum at Olympia has yielded up its bronzes to the National Museum at Athens, but for want of a resident ephor has not yet been completely arranged. The museums at Sparta, Megalopolis, and Tripolis are becoming more and more worthy of visit. At Argos, however, failing a separate building, few things are allowed to remain in the Demarchy, and the sculpture fragments from Bursian and Rhangabé's excavation at the Heraion, as well as the American finds, have been transported to Athens. It appears that the Athena statuette, the importance of which has been emphasized by Mr. Cecil Smith, has not yet been taken to Athens from Patras, and the fine mosaic in the square at Patras should certainly not be left covered up: if it cannot be taken to Athens, the citizens of Patras ought to take proper care of it in their own town, but as they have allowed their Roman Odeion to be stripped of nearly every fragment of marble it possessed, it is clear that they are not to be trusted with any antiquities, and that all should be removed to Athens if possible.

In North Greece, owing to the unsettled condition of things after the war, very little has been done. Mr. Arthur Hill of Athens is endeavouring to have the Thessalian marble quarries worked once more, which it appears are by no means exhausted. In the course of the hasty works, which were thrown up for the protection of the Greek army at Thermopylae, when a Turkish advance was imminent, the remains of an ancient watch-tower[1] were discovered guarding a path over Callidromos, possibly the very path by which Ephialtes led the Persians, and one kilomètre south of the warm springs an ancient cemetery was discovered, as to which particulars have not come to hand. But the archaeological centre of interest on the mainland has been Aetolia. Considerable interest has been directed lately to this little-explored country, and particularly to the site where all recent authorities have agreed to place Thermon, namely at the Palaiobazári of Kephalóvryso, east of Lake Trichonis. The latest discussion of the question is to be found in Mr.

[1] This was described as a small Doric temple in the newspapers at first (*Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 1-2, 229).

Woodhouse's *Aetolia*, where it is conclusively settled; and it only remained for excavation to confirm his view. This has now been done. The Greek Archaeological Society has been digging in the sacred enclosure or Altis, and found the great hall of assembly, numerous statue bases, and inscriptions, but the destruction wrought by Philip V. seems to have been very thorough, for apparently the site has remained undisturbed since then. It is, however, possible that subsequent digging will result in the find of some, at any rate, of the statues which were dedicated here in such numbers. Everywhere, however, in Aetolia there is little actual 'plunder' to reward the excavator, so far as present experience goes, and if Thermon proves a blank, no other site is as likely to tempt future workers. In another part of Aetolia Dr. Herzog and Dr. Ziebarth conducted on behalf of the German Institute a short excavation this spring, in the little theatre at the kastro of Irene, an hour and a half from Mesolónghi, the site generally identified with New Pleuron. Unfortunately there was not a single inscription found which in any way proved this identification to be true. Nevertheless, the conclusion, accepted by Mr. Woodhouse in his book on Aetolia (p. 119), may still be regarded as highly probable. It will be remembered from Mr. Woodhouse's description and plan that this, the smallest of all Greek theatres preserved, abuts closely on the town wall just where a quadrangular tower juts out from it. As the distance from the furthest point of the orchestra circumference to the wall is only 11·15 mètres, it was natural for Mr. Woodhouse to disbelieve in the existence of a proskenion: nevertheless Dodwell was right, for the stylobate of the proskenion with one door in the centre has been discovered by the German excavators. From the back of this to the town-wall is only a distance of 1·94 mètres. The floor of the orchestra is the natural rock slightly levelled; one better seat was discovered and fifteen rows of ordinary seats. Dr. Herzog thinks that owing to the small dimensions of this theatre it has an important bearing on the stage question, and certainly it must have been difficult to see the actors on an elevated stage from the lower seats of such a theatre as this. The evidence supplied by this theatre will clearly have to be carefully examined when published. No further light was thrown by the excavations on the curious constructions described and photographed by Mr. Woodhouse (p. 121) and locally called σταῖς φυλακαῖς, and whether they were corn magazines, cisterns, dungeons, or what purpose they served, must remain an unsolved problem.

At Delphi little or no work has been done this year. It is announced that the Athenian banker, M. Syngros, has undertaken to build a museum here as he did at Olympia, and as the temporary building is more than full already, and not by any means waterproof, this is good news, though it is to be hoped that the building will be unobtrusive. With the finishing of the work at the Stadium, the chief part of the French School's great work is over, and in the *Bulletin* (1897, Sept.-Oct.), we have three provisional plans giving some idea of the vastness of the work. It remains to pull down the chapel of Hag. Elias built over the foundations of the Amphictyonic συνέδριον, which are plainly visible at the north-west end of the site on the spur overlooking

new Kastri, and to clear the ground south of the Arachova road, where stood the gymnasium and other buildings mentioned by Pausanias (x. 8, 6).

The chief scene of archaeological activity in Greece Proper this year has been the islands. The important vase find at Aegina has been made known by Dr. Pallat's publication in *Ath. Mitt.* xxii., pt. 3. Whether Aegina ever possessed a local industry which rivalled those of Corinth, Athens, or Chalcis, is an interesting question. Dr. Pallat does not deny to Aegina a local fabric, and thinks it lasted on in spite of foreign importation. That there was a fabric of vessels for household use is proved by Herodotus, but Dr. Loeschcke denies a separate art-fabric to Aegina, and Dr. Hoppin takes this view too. The so-called proto-Corinthian ware seems to have been manufactured in the Argolid, and it is this which is so largely represented in the Aeginetan find. At the same time, it must be plainly confessed, that this question cannot yet be regarded as settled. The publication of the American finds at the Heraion will do much to throw light on these early vase fabrics. The work done by Drs. Hiller von Gaertringen and Dragendorff in the island of Thera does not fall into this year, but Dr. Tsountas excavated last summer in Paros, Naxos, and Despotiko. He found there a quantity of pre-Mycenaean ware resembling that of Pelos, some cornelian beads, and one piece of gold jewellery in the shape of a stephane. His excavations bear out the view that the early incised ware is contemporary with the Cycladic marble figures, and is distinctly prior to the painted pottery.

This summer an interesting work has been going on at Paros. It will be remembered that early in 1897 a fragment of the Parian Chronicle was discovered in a piece of ground close to Paroikía, the present capital of the island of Paros. The stone[1] contained the account of the years from the death of Philip to 299 B.C. (thus supplementing the Oxyrhynchus papyrus which contains the chronology of the period 355–315 B.C.), and as a period of 19 years separated it from the Ashmolean marble and the complete stone went down at least to 264 B.C., it was natural to hope that the remainder might be found. Dr. Rubensohn has been conducting excavations on the site of ancient Paros this summer on behalf of the German Institute. Though the Parian Chronicle has not been further enlarged and only a lucky accident may bring further fragments to light, these excavations have been singularly successful. The Temenos of Asklepios has been found close to the sea containing a spring, a quadrangular court with an altar in the centre, many architectural fragments and inscriptions, and a round archaic basis of Parian marble on which an inscription contains the name of Mikkiades and the letters Phoib—. That this is the Chiot artist and that the statue was a dedication to Apollo seems extremely probable. In fact another of the early 'Apollo' figures was also found complete with the exception of the feet. Of this statue we hear that the archaic smile is very pronounced and that its execution is comparable for care with that of the Apollo of Tenea. It is to be hoped that the circumstances of the find may

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 1, 2, p. 183 (Krispi and Wilhelm).

throw some light on the question of the identification of this early nude male type. Dr. Rubensohn has also laid bare the foundations of the town walls on the three sides facing the land, which are preserved in part to the height of a metre, and pronounces them to be of fifth century construction. He has also identified a sanctuary, which he discovered on a neighbouring height, as the temenos of Aphrodite, and on a site underneath the summit another as that of Eileithyia. Finally it is satisfactory to learn that a museum has been formed for the reception of the Parian finds and that the inhabitants have brought to it antiquities previously in their possession. If this sort of thing had happened twenty or even ten years ago in various parts of Greece, how much barbarous destruction of ancient monuments would have been avoided. A museum has also been started at Vathy in Samos. The excavation of the Heraion by Dr. Sarre, to whom permission has been granted, has apparently not yet taken place. Lastly, there has been the second season of the British School's work in Melos. The work will be described elsewhere; it can here be said without exaggeration that in Phylakopi a second Troy has been found. Nowhere else, except at Hissárlik, have the Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean strata been discovered in so little disturbed a condition. Three distinct strata representing different settlements have been found practically undisturbed, and the finds of pottery especially will when worked up throw much light on early Aegean civilization. It may be fairly said that no excavations of the past year in Greece have been more interesting or valuable.

It remains to say a few words about archaeological work in Asia Minor. Besides the explorations of Prof. Körte in Phrygia, and Mr. Anderson in Galatia, there have been two important excavations. The Austrian Institute, under the guidance of Prof. Benndorf, has been conducting excavations at Ephesus, of which a provisional report has appeared from Prof. Benndorf and Dr. Heberdey, first in the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1897, n. v.–vi., 1898, n. vii.–viii., and repeated in the first number of the *Jahreshefte* of the Institute.

The first work was carried on in some ground close to the scene of J. T. Wood's labours, on the north and west of the Artemision, outside the wall which marks off the ground belonging to the British Museum. On the north side no fragments of the temple-building were found, on the west it was hoped that the altar might be discovered. This was not the case, but at a distance of about 55 to 60 mètres from the west front of the temple a pavement of polygonal marble blocks, with sculptured fragments and potsherds of the sixth and fifth century, was brought to light. Benndorf thinks it likely that the altar lay nearer the temple under the earth heaps thrown up by Wood's excavation. Similar trial excavations on the presumed site of the Lysimachean city, which were superintended by the lamented Humann, showed that digging on a large scale would be abundantly justified. From April to December, with a respite in the two hottest months, the work was carried on, chiefly under the supervision of Dr. Heberdey. The 70 mètre square

marble-paved court surrounded by a colonnade with halls and rooms opening upon it, and entered by a propylaion on the east side, could be nothing but the Hellenistic agora, which seems to have been mainly destroyed by the Goths in 263 A.D. and only partly rebuilt subsequently. The theatre is pronounced to show three periods of construction, one of the time of the foundation of the city, one rebuilding about 150 A.D., and later restorations. A round monument on the adjacent hill, of which the architectural members were found in such numbers that it could be restored in plan, is conjectured to be a trophy of victory, possibly of the Ephesians at Kyme over the pretender Aristonicus in 133 B.C. Important finds have been made, including a bronze statue of a nude youth, over life-size, which seems to be an original of the later Attic school, and a free reproduction of the Attic work of the 5th century representing an athlete anointing himself, of which copies exist in the Uffizi, Louvre, and Vatican, a marble statue of a seated naked boy with a duck, suggesting the works of Boethos, a group in black basalt representing a sphinx tearing a nude youth, which can be paralleled with the centaurs by Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias in the Capitoline Museum, and a beautiful bronze incense-vessel in the shape of a candelabrum. The most interesting inscription mentioned is a letter of M. Aurelius and L. Verus ordering that the statues of previous emperors shall not be remodelled to represent themselves.

Since 1895 the important excavations of the Berlin Museum at Priene have been progressing, first under the supervision of Karl Humann of Pergamon fame, and since his death of Dr. T. Wiegand, his successor in his post. They have resulted in the laying bare of another Pompeii. Priene lies on the lower terraces of Mykale and is crowned by a lofty Acropolis, which could only be reached from the town by a steep path and on the south falls away so abruptly that no wall of defence was required. The town is divided by a network of streets crossing at right angles into about seventy nearly equal rectangles. The only departure from this absolute regularity occurs in the agora, where more open space was required. The difficulty of laying out a town so regularly on such an uneven hilly site must have been enormous, yet no labour of cutting into the rock or terracing up was avoided, in order to preserve this absolute uniformity of plan. Below the Temple of Athena, so well-known from the Dilettanti Society's publication and the excavations of Pullan, in a distance of 30 mètres at least 1000 cubic mètres of rock had to be removed to give the main street from the west gate a more practicable slope upwards to the agora. The streets are carefully paved with blocks of breccia, but there are no raised pavements at the side. Down the centre of the street generally runs a fresh water channel connecting with the private houses and fountains at the street-corners. Each of the rectangles surrounded by streets is divided into four parts, each quarter being the superficies of a dwelling-house. The whole town must have been built at one period and according to a single plan, which was no doubt conceived in the age of Alexander the Great. It is interesting to see how the traditions of Hippodamos were carried on in Asia Minor. The plan of the private house is generally

that of a rectangle with a four sided court in the centre surrounded by pillars with the rooms opening into it on all sides. The front to the main street is a blank wall, the door that gave access to the court is in the side street. The decoration resembles what is called the first style at Pompeii, *i.e.* real architectural ornament consisting of half-columns, triglyph friezes and cornices, with actual sculptured additions, applied to the surface of the wall. Of the public buildings discovered, apart from the temple of Athena, the chief were the Asklepieion, a rectangular but theatre-like building, probably a place of assembly or Bouleuterion, the Prytaneion, and the Theatre. In the latter the stage buildings are wonderfully preserved. The front row of seats, a plain marble bench with back, is interrupted by five marble thrones. If the circle of the proedria be continued it touches the front of the proskenion. An altar was actually discovered, not in the centre of the orchestra, but close to the front row of seats. It bears an inscription of the third century B.C. The complete publication of these extraordinarily interesting discoveries will be eagerly awaited.

G. C. Richards.

A SUMMER IN PHRYGIA:

Some Corrections and Additions.

(*See vol. xvii., p. 396 ff. and xviii., p. 81 ff.*)

In my second article on Phrygia, Vol. xviii., pp. 101 and 109, mention is made of some Latin inscriptions which were reserved until the stones should be re-examined. I had the opportunity of seeing them again this summer, and I now publish them, together with a few corrections and additions to both papers.

Vol. xvii., p. 401, l. 18. *Read* 'the small river nearest *but one to* Saraï Keui on the east'; see the inset map, Pl. IV.

P. 418 ff. This inscription is discussed by A. Schulten in a paper entitled *Libello dei coloni d'un demanio imperiale in Asia* in *Mitth. des Instituts, Röm. Abtheil.*, 1898, pp. 231-247. My restorations, which had to be made very hurriedly and with an inadequate knowledge of the special literature of the subject (*e.g.* of the important inscription of Skaptoparene, which throws so much light on our document[1]), were merely tentative suggestions; but it seemed better to publish the inscription at once for the benefit of scholars than to hoard it up until an exhaustive commentary could be written on it. But while Schulten's restorations are generally a great improvement on mine, they frequently pay scant regard to the conditions; *e.g.* in lines 14 and 15 he restores twenty-one and thirty-four (or more) letters, where the stone can hardly have had more than thirteen and fifteen. The main part of the inscription, l. 4 ff., is engraved on a sunk panel and the lines were therefore of equal length.

I should state that the reproduction given on p. 418 does not quite accurately represent my copy in some slight details; and I take this opportunity of giving an improved reproduction of some portions of the inscription, made directly from an impression. I also add some notes on the text and a few corrections, which a careful re-examination of the stone has rendered necessary.

L. 1. The names were no doubt erased, as Hülsen supposes (*ap.* Schulten, p. 233 *n.*). They seemed to me to have been merely worn away, but erasures not infrequently have this appearance.

2. PER was doubtless intended, but R is certainly not on the stone. The stone-cutter did not understand Latin.

[1] Published in *Zft. der Savignystiftung f. Rechtsgesch.*, xii. p. 246.

Hülsen's suggestion PROCONSULE V(ir) C(larissimus) is probably correct. [It occurred also to Mr. F. Haverfield.]

3. The fourth letter is probably a cursive *d*. The same form of letter stands for *b* in *dabit* (l. 26, see below), and the *b* of *revocabit* is represented by a similar letter.

The latter of the two enigmatical letters at the end of the line is not Æ but A (which has become blurred in the reproduction).

4. The second Є in ΕΥCЄΒΕΙ is of semi-circular form.

5. Read ΕΓΛΕΚΤ. [Schulten is wrong in supposing that the Κ was omitted by the engraver and then inserted above the line.]

ΚΟΙΝΟΜΟΠΤЄΑΝΩΝ

7. Read ΜΟΤΤЄΑΝΩΝ. A re-examination of the stone revealed traces of a letter between Ο and Τ, and the impression shows it to be in all probability a Τ. The space is narrow, and evidently the engraver had omitted it at first and then inserted it. This improved reading confirms the correction *κοιν(οῦ Τ)οττεανῶν*.

10. Read ΤΩΝ, as suggested in the note (p. 420).

15. ΜΙΤΕ ; there seems to be no ligature between Μ and Ι.

20 *fin.* As I suspected, when editing the text, I have omitted a syllable. The correct reading is ΒΟΑCΑΝΓ.

24. The last letter is certainly Ε.

26. The outline of the blurred sixth letter is ⍙, which probably stands for *b*, as in *revocabit*. Mr. Haverfield tells me he has come across a similar case. The form ⍙ which occurs on coins, *e.g.* of Olbasa (*B.M. Catalogue of Lycia, etc.* pp. 229, 230) is more intelligible.

30. The first letter is Є (it cannot be Θ).

31. Read ΕΡΗΜΟΥCΘΛΙ.

The following articles may be recommended to the attention of those who are interested in the Imperial Domains :—

Toutain, *L'inscription d'Henchir Mettich*, in the *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, t. xi. 1897.[1]

Cuq, *Le colonat partiaire*, in the same volume.

Beaudouin, *Les grands domains dans l'Empire Romain d'après des travaux récents* in the *Nouvelle Revue histor. du droit*, 1897, pp. 543 ff. and 673 ff.

Schulten, *Die lex Manciana* in *Göttingen Abhandlungen*, 1897.

P. 424, No. 22. A certain Optimus was proconsul of the province of Asia in 250–1 A.D. He is described as *proconsul apud Asiam* (or *apud Asiam provinciam*) *sub Decio imperatore* (249–251 A.D.) in the *Acta S. Maximi*

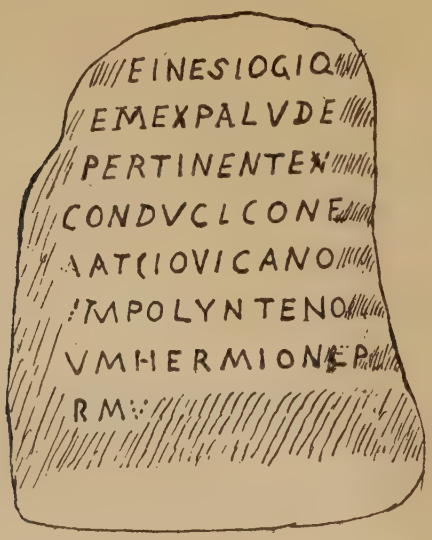
ΡЄΛDIDYMVMMIIICENERVM PROCO IVLIЄΛ CPERSPECTAFIDEORVMQVAЄ QVIAINIVRIOSECERATVRADSOLICITVDINEMSVAMREVOCAΛIT ΣΛ

[1] Printed also in *Nouv. Revue hist. du droit*, 1897, p. 373 ff.

Martyris (Ruinart *Acta Sincera*, p. 157), and in the *Acta S. Martyris Petri, Andreae*, etc. (Ruinart, p. 160), and Waddington assigned him to 250–1 A.D., inasmuch as the proconsul of the preceding year is known (*Fastes des prov. Asiat.*, No. 176). Dr. Dessau has recently questioned the authority of these *Acta*, and expressed the opinion that the proconsul's name is corrupt and that the real name was perhaps Aristus, which became Optimus in the Latin translation of the *Acta* (*Prosopographia imp. Rom.* p. 437). But our inscription shows that there is no reason to doubt the name and distrust the *Acta* on that score. We are indeed tempted to identify the proconsul of the *Acta* with the Flavius Optimus of the inscription. But, as Prof. Ramsay has shown in the *Expository Times* (August 1898, p. 496) the identification is not possible; for Fl. Optimus 'bears the title διασημότατος, *perfectissimus*, which marks him as belonging to a lower grade of governors, and to a later era. In 250 A.D. the governor of Asia had the rank λαμπρότατος, *clarissimus*; and the inscription must be referred to the fourth or fifth century, when Asia had been broken up, and Meiros was part of Phrygia Salutaris, administered by a *praeses perfectissimus*.' [He goes on to show, with much plausibility, that *apud Asiam*, with the variants *apud Asiam prov.*, *in Asia civitate*, *apud Ambiensem provinciam*, is probably a corruption of *apud Apiam*.]

Vol. XVIII., p. 87, No. 24. The most probable restoration of the name of the κατοικία is perhaps [Ὀ]λβοις, a proposal first made to me by Prof. Ramsay and recently repeated by Dr. Körte in a letter. The name is well known in Cilicia Tracheia, and appears in Pamphylia or Lycia (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Olbia*). I had introduced this restoration at first, but I afterwards cut it out, as there are other possibilities and certainty is, therefore, not attainable.

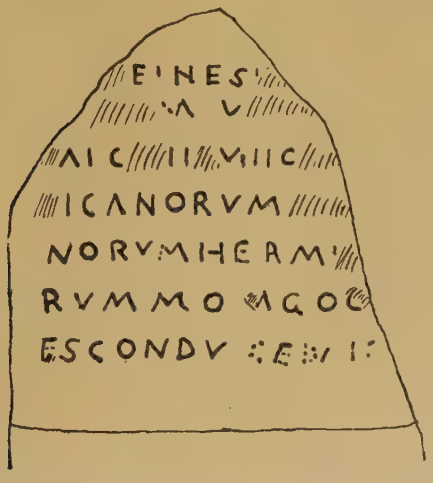
P. 101, l. 14 f. The inscription in question is now in the village of Oktchular. The letters are mostly quite clear. and I did not re-examine the stone this year. My copies of 1896 and 1897 agree.



Fines loci q[u-
em ex palude
pertinente[m
conduci conf[ir-
m]ateio? vicano[r-
u]m Polynteno[r-
um Hermione[o-
r(u)m [Moragocom-
es? . .

The interpretation of the first line was suggested by Mr. Haverfield, that of l. 7 f. is due to Prof. Ramsay, *confirmatio* in l. 4 occurred to all three of us.

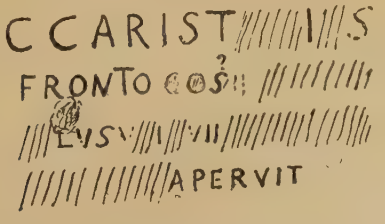
Another inscription, exceedingly worn, now at the village Alp Arslan, seems to be a companion stone. The difficulty of deciphering it is greatly increased by the roughness and irregularity of the engraving.



Fines [*loci quem*
ex p]*a*[*l*]*u*[*de* . . . .
. . . . . .
v]*icanorum* [*Polynte-*
norum Hermi[*oneo-*
rum Mo[*r*]*agoc*[*om-*
es? *condu*[*x*]*e*[*runt.*[1]

The following remarks embody suggestions made by Prof. Ramsay. The *palus* is clearly the marshy part of the valley beside Oktchular, the lowest point in the plain, where in winter the water of the land-locked *ova* collects and forms a lake, which becomes a marsh again in spring and dries up entirely in the height of summer (cf. *CB.* ii. p. 747). It seems probable that we have here the boundary stones of another Imperial Estate, stretching from Oktchular to Alp Arslan and containing two or three *vici* (*Caesaris*), the first of which is Polynta and the second the Hermo-kome of the Tekmorian Lists (Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.* 375, 10, Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 412), while the third is uncertain. The inscriptions seem to refer to some kind of union of these *vici*. For the other Imperial Estates in Asia Minor whose existence has been proved by Prof. Ramsay, cf. Schulten, *Röm. Mitth. l.c.* pp. 221–231.

P. 109, l. 8. The inscription is cut on the rocks on the hill-side, just at the point where a causeway and a low bridge carry the road over the marsh.[2] It contained four lines. A second trial enabled us to read the name Fronto quite clearly,



C. Carist[*an*]*i*[*u*]*s*
Fronto cos.(?) . . .
. *c*]*lusu*[*m*? . . . .
. . . *aperuit.*

[1] My first copy has ERVN, which is clearly right (and may be traced on the impression).

[2] In the map (Plate V.) the hills (Kara-kush Dagh) are inaccurately represented; the slopes run down quite close to Armudli and they touch the north-east edge of the marsh.

It is unfortunate that this inscription is so badly worn. Gaius Caristanius Fronto was *legatus Aug. pr. pr.* of the province Lycia-Pamphylia in the reign of Domitian (Sterrett, *Epigr. Journ.* No. 108; cf. B.C.H. 1886, p. 46, No. 2). At that time he was of praetorian rank. After his consulship he evidently became *proconsul* of Asia.

In the fragmentary state of the inscription, it is impossible to say what was the precise nature of the work undertaken by Fronto. It may be noted, however, that while the enormous marsh which now fills the centre of this plain is almost entirely the result of Turkish neglect, there was probably always a certain amount of marsh near the point where the inscription is engraved; for there is no possible exit for the large volume of water which flows down into the plain from the copious springs at its south-west edge (below Geneli). Perhaps, then, the accumulation of water at this point had made an impassable barrier, and Fronto opened a new road over it.

P. 112, No. 52. In l. 8 *read* τὴν σὴν οἰκτρο[τά]την. In l. 9, probably γενεῇ δέ μοι. In l. 10 there appears to have been one letter, apparently a Δ, between φίλοι and ἔθεντο; τροφῆες seems certain.

P. 113, No. 53 *bis*. M. Franz Cumont points out to me that the two symbols are anchors (cp. Kraus, *Realencyc. der Christ. Alterthum.* s.v. *Ancora*), thus adding one more confirmation of the theory (already well proved) that the formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν is Christian. This seems to be the only example of the anchor known in Phrygia.

P. 123, l. 8 from the foot. *Delete* 'perhaps also in Μαικιάνης,' etc. Μαικιανῆ is the Latin Maeciana, as Prof. Ramsay points out in *Classical Review*, 1898, p. 342, *n.* 2.

P. 128. A letter from Prof. Ramsay asking me not to publish his NOTE at the end of my second article failed to catch me, as I had left England for the East. His note was written under the impression, derived from a too hasty perusal of my proof-sheets, that his view in *Hist. Geogr.* differed from mine both about Kaballa and about Tzibreli-tzemani. In reality he inclined to the same conclusion about the latter place as that which I had reached; see his note † on p. 359.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

MR. G. B. GRUNDY ON PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA.

It is with personal reluctance that I, like Mr. Grundy, again take up the argument. It is probably, however, better for the reader if the two sides thrash it out. The main reason why so many of the full-dress debates of archæology, on the λογεῖον for instance, or the 'Old Temple,' are still obscure for the non-combatant, is because the protagonists seem to get bored with each other's arguments, and pass them over in silence as self-evident fallacies. The result is endless, indecisive summarizing by those not immediately concerned.

In the present number of the Journal, p. 234, Mr. Grundy expresses his astonishment that the walls on Pylos and Sphacteria, as photographed in Plates VII., IX. and X., of the preceding number present no more definite marks of date. This is surely a failure to recognize the conditions of the problem. It is a question of "What went ye out for to see?" Did Mr. Grundy expect for the παλαιὸν ἔρυμα a master-piece of Mycenaean splendour, a Lion's Gate or a Tirynthian Gallery? Did he hope that an obliging Athenian sailor had marked wall L on Pylos with an $o = \omega$? The remains exactly answer to Thucydides' description (see *J.H.S.* xvi. pp. 66, *n.* 40), and the fact that wall BB of the παλαιὸν ἔρυμα (Figs. 2 and 8) strikes Mr. Grundy as the same in character as wall L (Figs. 6 and 7), though less perfect, is an evidence *for* my identification and not against it. Thucydides uses the same distinguishing word for both; λίθων λογάδην πεποιημένον in iv. 31, 2, λογάδην φέροντες λίθους in iv. 4, 2.

Mr. Grundy then, if his theory of Cumberland sheepfolds be right, can only say that any such wall as Thucydides describes would defy dating. This he should have said two years ago, and not only after seeing my photographs. What he means by now saying (p. 234) that he has "seen" the walls marked Figs. 2 and 8, it is difficult to determine. He has not been to Pylos since 1895. We have both hitherto assumed that he then either did not see the walls, or mistook them for the stratification of the limestone rock (*C.R.* Nov., 1896, p. 371. Feb., 1897, p. 2). Is it possible that this is not so, and that Mr. Grundy realized that the remains which Dr. Schliemann, Mr. Bosanquet, and Mr. Crowfoot have accepted as the παλαιὸν ἔρυμα were walls, but thought them so undoubtedly modern that they were not only not worth arguing about, but not even worth mentioning? The second alternative is more damaging to him than the first.

Must we acquiesce, however, in the theory of sheepfolds? Certainly not. We must consider under what circumstances walls of this λογάδην character, yet eight feet thick as wall L, two metres as wall BB, three metres as wall C (*J.H.S.* xviii. pp. 153, 156) could have been made. It is certain in the first place from their position as well as their thickness that one and all of them were military walls, and not houses or sheep shelters. This does not carry us far, but it clears the ground. In the second place it shows want of discrimination to say of the walls on Pylos and Sphacteria that "either might belong to any age" (p. 235). They must be treated separately. The case for Pylos is a strong probability.[1] For Sphacteria it is a practical certainty.

To take Pylos first, then, what military operations could have taken place there of which wall L would be a normal result? I have already applied this test to later classical and mediæval times (*J.H.S.* xvi. pp. 66–67), and will not multiply proof. If it be urged that the building of wall L in the fifth century B.C. would have been as abnormal as the building of it at any subsequent time, I can only reply that Thucydides tells us that the Athenians built abnormally, and why they did so, and that it is indeed an example of 'another man of the same name,' to turn from an actual abnormal event for the occurrence of which you have detailed reasons given, to an hypothetical one of which you know absolutely nothing. That the survival of an early rough wall is no difficulty has been convincingly proved by Mr. Bosanquet (*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 156).

The War of Independence, and the historical fact of the siege of Palaeo Kastro (our Pylos) in 1825 is, indeed, another matter.

It is true that the Greek Insurgents were without knowledge of building, and therefore somewhat in the position of the Cumberland shepherd. It is true, too, that they were given to erecting temporary cover in the shape of 'tambouri.'

It is possible also, though not probable, that their line of defence was here.[2] But though they may have used wall L, it is almost inconceivable that they built it. In the first place so serious a piece of work could scarcely have been carried through without constant use of the masses of squared stones that stood near at hand. Secondly, 'tambouri' were flimsy cover for marksmen, not great continuous walls eight feet thick. But—final, and, I think, conclusive reason—Bory de St. Vincent (*Rélation*, p. 155) saw 'un tambour' of 1825 during his visit to Pylos in 1829. And it is Bory who was convinced of the very ancient character of wall L. (*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 156).

But if it is difficult to imagine any circumstances in which wall L on Pylos could be so naturally built as by Demosthenes, the evidence for identification is quite another matter when we turn to Sphacteria. On Sphacteria it is no longer merely a question of a style of building normal

[1] See *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 68, n. 47.

[2] See James Emerson *Diary*, p. 149. Bory de St. Vincent, *Atlas*, Plate IV. *Rélation*, p. 155.

only at one or two epochs. We have a ground plan which is conceivable only under particular conditions, and we possess detailed information as to military operations in that very period of history where style helps us least. None of the Sphacteria walls could have been built during the Greek War of Independence. We have definite first-hand information in the pages of Collegno and Millingen as to what was done and what was not done on Sphacteria right through the siege of New Navarin up to the day when Ibrahim attacked the island, and the Greeks fled headlong before the charge of the Arab infantry. Collegno in particular was often on the island, 'cosi gaia e favorita,' turning in relief from the squalor and confinement of the besieged town to the 'delizie della mia isola' (p. 46). The Greeks put one or perhaps two small batteries in position on the South Point, facing New Navarin, and another at the principal—probably the Panagia landing-place. It is certain that they built no fort on the North Peak. But was it the Turks who built the fort? 'It was here,' says Mr. Grundy (p. 235), 'that the Egyptians established their batteries in 1825 in the attack on Pylos.' Pylos 'was maintained by the insurgent Greeks for six weeks against the assaults of Ibrahim Pasha's force' (p. 234). One would hardly imagine from this language that the Egyptians were in possession of Sphacteria for *less than two full days* before Pylos, that is Palaeo Kastro, capitulated. Nor that the evidence for their having during these two days established any batteries at all on this spot, is so shadowy as to be safely neglected.[1] As a matter of fact, it concerns my argument not at all whether they did so or not. Even if they did post a battery on the summit, it is inconceivable that the walls of Mr. Crowfoot's plan (*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 152, Fig. 10) were built by them to protect it. Their ground plan precludes the possibility of their being built for an attack on Pylos. On the actual summit, the point which does command Pylos, the main frontage of wall BB is to the west and not to the north, to the island itself, and not to Pylos. The north wall of the Hollow (C) fronts north-west, but is in a worse position for commanding Pylos than dozens that could be chosen further west. The south wall of the Hollow (D) is meaningless.

We can put aside then all question of the War of Independence. As certainly can we disregard mediæval or later classical times.[2] The only use

[1] The evidence for all this would be of little interest here. I have, however, examined the question with some minuteness, and submitted the details to the criticism of several scholars, including Mr. R. C. Bosanquet. In brief, I follow primarily the evidence of three eye-witnesses, Collegno (*Diario*, pp. 42–62), Grasset (*apud* Emerson, pp. 172, 175) and (with slight exceptions) Millingen (*Memoir*, pp. 290–310). Emerson is also, with some qualifications, a good source, writing his Diary (pp. 136–151) from accounts given by eye-witnesses a day or two after the events. The secondary authorities I have had access to are Pecchio (*apud* Emerson, pp. 109–115), who heard the story from Collegno, Jourdain (pp. 170–172), who is worthless, Gordon (pp. 202–205), who was not in Greece at the time, Gouin (*L'Egypte au xix. Siècle*, pp. 382–384), Prokesch-Osten (i. pp. 353–4), Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (ii. pp. 354–355), Tricoupis (iii. pp. 205–206) and Finlay (vi. pp. 359–363). The difference between the Greek and West European Calendars has worked havoc in the dates. The right dates are mid-day Sunday, May 8th (our reckoning), for the fall of Sphacteria, and early morning Tuesday, May 10th, for the capitulation of Palaeo-Kastro.

[2] The battle of Navarino in 1827 gives no scope for wall building on the north. There is mention (Finlay, vii. pp. 17–18) of Turkish

then likely to have been made of the summit was for a watch-tower, and it was pointed out by me in my original article (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 63, *n.* 27) that Leake saw such a tower, and by Mr. Bosanquet (*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 156) that traces of its presence still exist. The ground plan of our fort, however, is incontestably not that of a watch-tower. It is a stronghold of an early half-civilized people, either pirates themselves, as suggested by Mr. Crowfoot (*J.H.S.* xviii. 153), or περικτίονες in fear of pirates, as suggested by Mr. Bosanquet (*Ib.* p. 156). It was built to face an attack by land with short-range missiles, and it guarded against surprise by climbing. The resources of its defence were adequate to meet the resources of attack in those early days. And then alone could it have been built. Of its fitness to be the παλαιὸν ἔρυμα of Thucydides' narrative I have already said enough (*J.H.S.* xvi. pp. 59–63. *C.R.*, Feb. 1897, pp. 1–2).

Mr. Grundy, however, has suggested (p. 235) that the fort has not got a plan at all, that the walls do not make up a homogeneous whole. As regards the south he may have been misled by the fact that Mr. Crowfoot, as stated in the text (*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 154), did not see wall D, and hypothetically located it too far north. To doctor his plan would have deprived it of all value as evidence, and to wait till he again could visit the spot would have indefinitely delayed publication. The defence on the south is however, in point of fact, unbroken. Wall D does not guard the approach from the interior of the island at all. It was built to bar the gorge to climbers. It is the south-east corner of wall BB that prevented approach to the south of the hollow from the interior (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 60). It is possible there was once a wall connection for the yard or two which separates the south-east corner of BB from the precipice. It is possible that a yard or two of cliff has broken down. But there is no difficulty or break of connection. As things stand you could only pass within sword distance of the wall.

Mr. Grundy, however, would answer that the north wall of the hollow 'shows manifest disconnection' with wall BB (p. 235). By this he does not

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guns on the south of Sphacteria, but no mention at all of the north. If indeed it was at any period thought necessary to bar the entry to the Sikia Channel from the side of the island, the point chosen would for a certainty not have been the summit, but the slightly lower hill on the west, which stands between it and the sea. Not only therefore is a modern date impossible, but the possibilities of a mediæval one are considerably limited. Our walls could at that period only have been built by a force holding Pylos to prevent an enemy from commanding it. But not only are the arguments as to style of building as valid here as for wall L, but the fortification of a small detached outwork, too weak to resist any force that could hope to attack the Great Castle, without a water supply, without means of communication, would be an act of folly of which neither Frank nor Venetian would be guilty, an anomaly in the history of Mediæval War. They would at least have worked as far as possible on the Barbican principle, and continued the western walls down to the foot of the Sikia Channel.

In point of fact the short range and small power of artillery up to 1572, when Neo Kastro (New Navarin) was built, and Palaeo Kastro sank into insignificance, would have rendered the fortification of the north of Sphacteria an unnecessary precaution. The great point was to have as small a line as possible open to attack by land. A breach in the south wall of Palaeo Kastro, which could only be reached by sea, would be as nothing compared with the exposure of a large part of the garrison to annihilation by land.

merely mean that the evidence for the existence of remains of the connecting wall is not conclusive. He means, as his further words show, that the builders of wall BB would not have built C at such an angle. They would have run it to meet the north-east corner of BB, so that this odd receding angle would never have been necessary.

Yet it is this very point which gives as clear an indication of date as the λογάδην character of the walls. Where was the gate of the fort? Clearly, as Mr. Bosanquet suggested to me many months ago, at the apex of this angle. It was a principle with the makers of early fortifications that the approach to a gate should be covered by two walls, that the enemy should be open to attack from both sides. The builders of the παλαιὸν ἔρυμα were doing with their simple resources what was elaborately provided for at Tiryns and Mycenae.[1] That the principle was not put out of date by the knowledge of flanking towers we see from the presence of such towers in both these citadels.

On other points I have little to say. Mr. Grundy now (p. 228) lays far greater stress than he did originally (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 11 par. 1, p. 12 par. 4) on the physiographical evidence for the dating of the southern sandbar. Nothing but the decided opinion of an experienced geologist would warrant us to treat this as a case where historical and archæological argument must bow before a law of nature. We have no such opinion. Meanwhile it must not be forgotten that the Boidia Koilia sandbar was admittedly formed first. This being so, Mr. Grundy cannot expect us to treat as a scientific certainty for the fifth century B.C. the following remarkable combination of unprovable assertions.

(1) The lagoon must have been navigable right up to Boidia Koilia, so that engines could be landed there.

(2) The southern sandbar must have reached to within about 200 yards of the south-east corner of Pylos.

(3) No sand could have drifted to this south-east corner.

In regard to the south-east corner Mr. Grundy dwells (p. 233) on the misleading character of photographs to those who have not first-hand knowledge of the ground. He should notice that Mr. Bosanquet had such first-hand knowledge (*J.H.S.* xviii. p. 158), and that nothing could be more definite than the confirmation which he gives on this point to my views. The reason, of course, that Demosthenes' ships were not destroyed (p. 232), is the one given us by Thucydides (iv. 9, 1), that he protected them by a stockade.

On p. 233 *n.* 1 Mr. Grundy makes another of his unfortunate charges of misunderstanding. I can only ask the reader who cares to take the trouble, to compare Mr. Grundy's remarks in *C.R.*, Nov. 1896, p. 372 col. 1, my answer in *C.R.*, Feb. 1897, p. 2. col. 2, p. 3 col. 1, his quotation of them *C.R.*, April, 1897, p. 156 col. 1 *fin.* and col. 2, and my quotation of that quotation in *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 149. He will see that the misunderstanding is not my

[1] Schuchhardt's Schliemann, *Eng. Trans.*, pp. 103, 104, 105, 132, 138, 298. Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. ii. pp. 100, 221.

fault. But he will also see that we have both been guilty of obscurity in describing this south-east corner. It should be thought of, not as two distinct slopes, but as a shoulder sloping two ways, to the sandbar on the east, to the Sikia Channel on the south. A glance at Figs. 1 and 4 (*J.H.S.* xviii. Plates VII. and VIII.) will extricate the reader from a muddle into which our language may easily have led him.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

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MOSAIC AT MELOS (DETAIL).

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Fig. 1. PYLOS, S.E., FROM SAND-BAR.

Fig. 2. SPHACTERIA. WALL BB., N.W. CORNER.

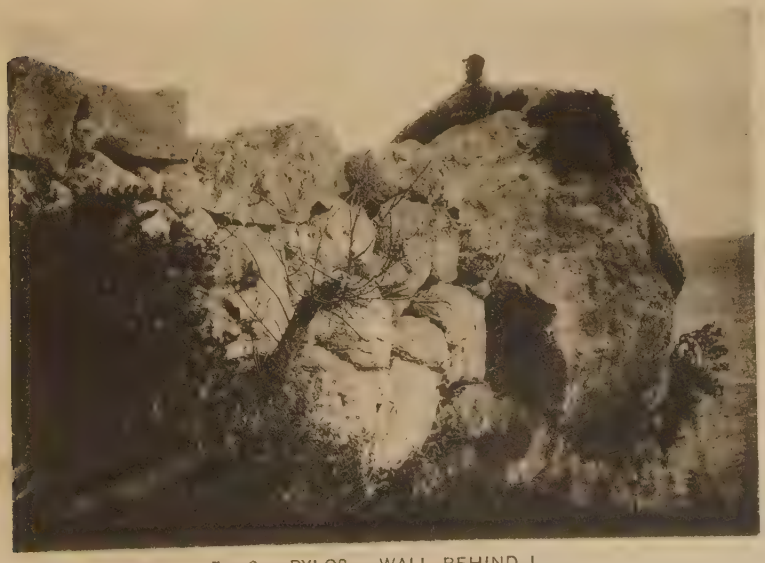

Fig. 3. PYLOS. WALL BEHIND L.

Fig. 4. PYLOS, FROM SPHACTERIA.

Fig. 5. PYLOS, S.W. BRASIDAS' ROCKS.

FIG. 6. PYLOS. WALL L.

FIG. 7. PYLOS. WALL L. FROM A DISTANCE.

FIG. 8. SPHACTERIA. WALL B B. S.W. CORNER.

FIG. 9. SPHACTERIA. WALL D.

Heads in the Possession of Philip Nelson, Esq., M.P.

CILICIAN COINS

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CILICIAN COINS

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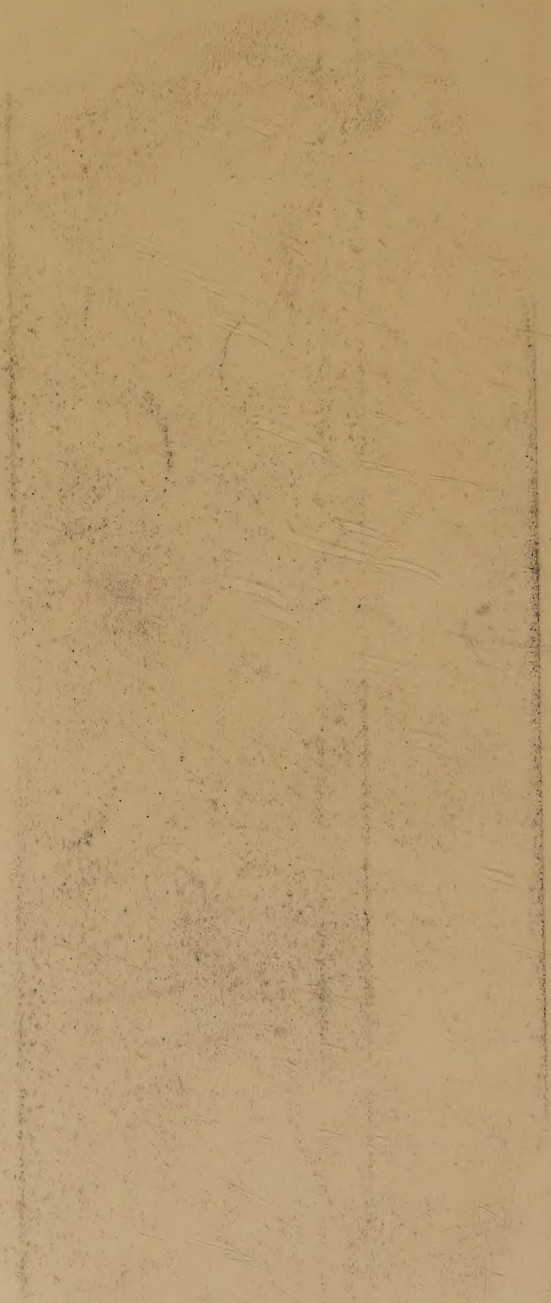

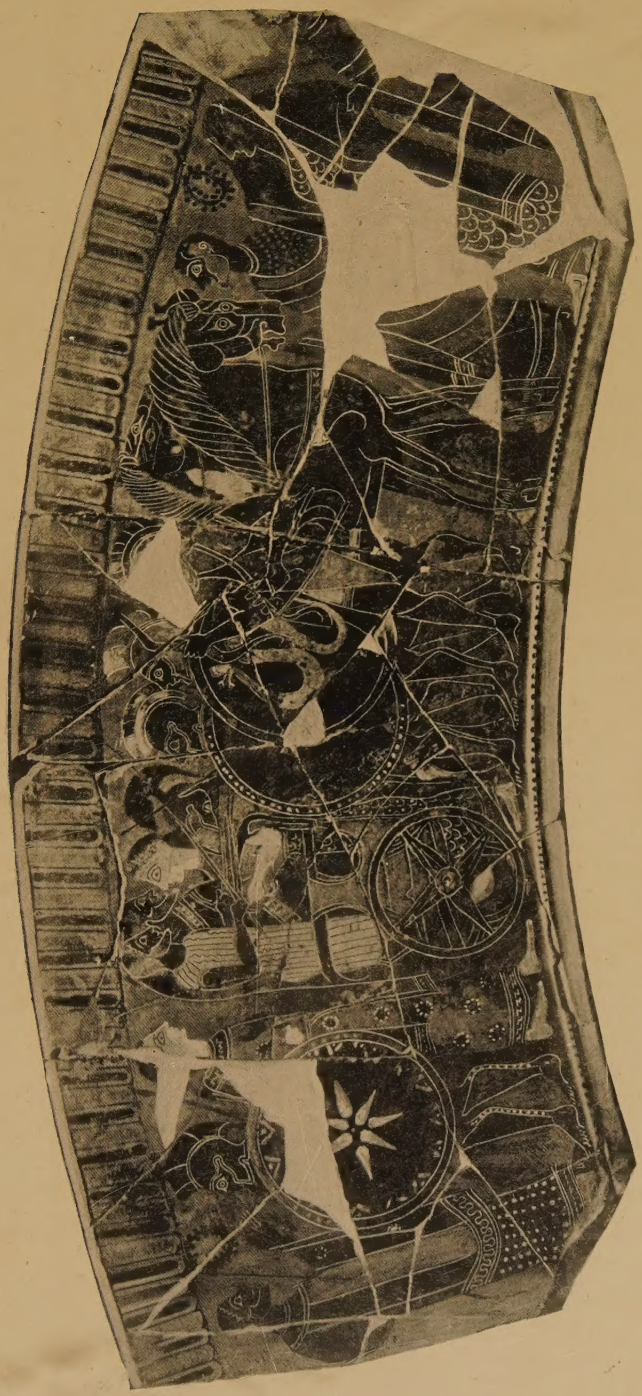

DEPARTURE OF A WARRIOR.